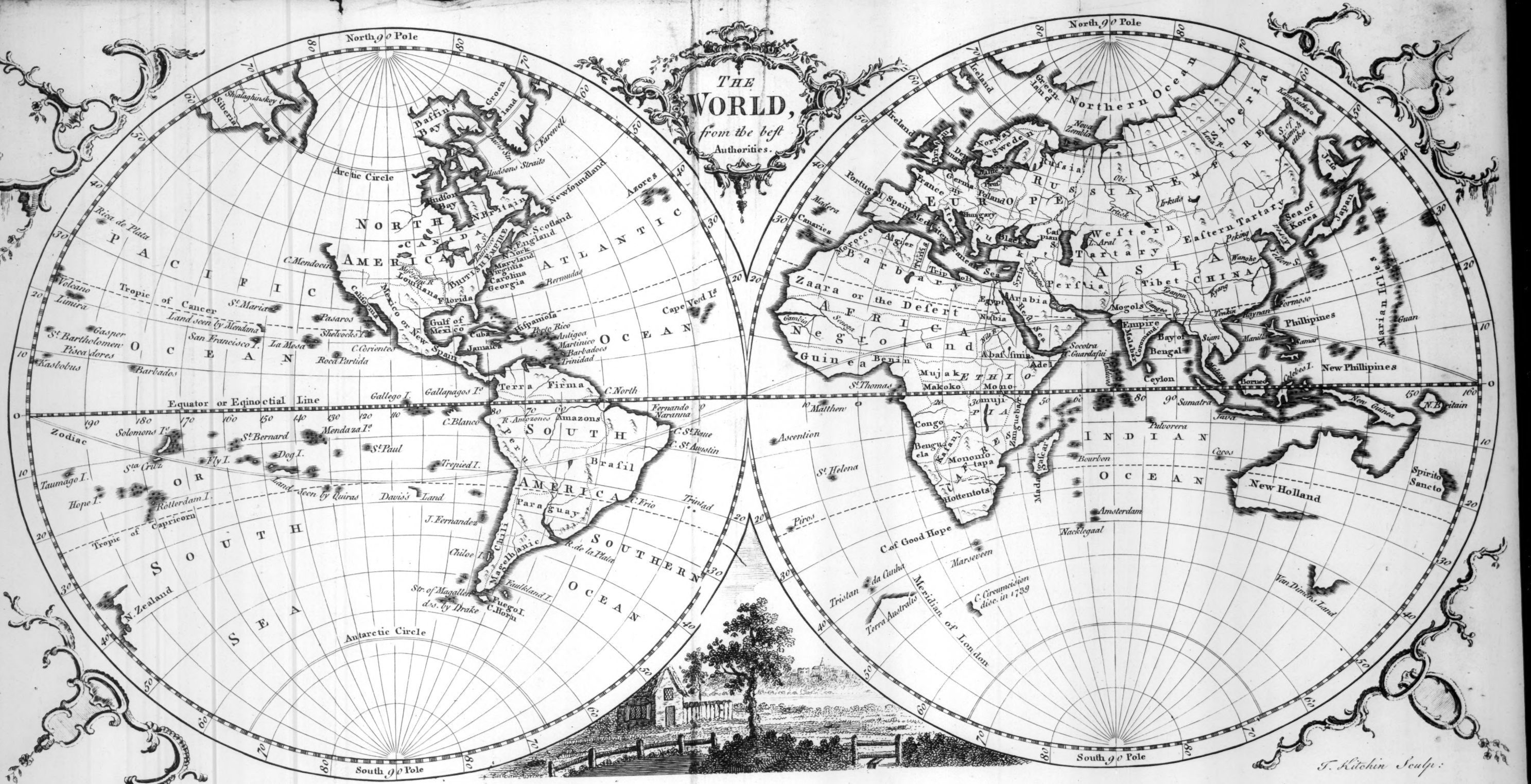


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A NEW
COLLECTION
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DISCOVERIES and TRAVELS:

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IN SEVEN VOLUMES.


VOL. I.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. KNOX, near Southampton-Street,
in the Strand, MDCCLXVII.

A NEW
COLLECTION

OF
VOYAGES AND
DISCOVERIES

IN THE
WEST INDIES

AND
AFRICA



THE
MUSEUM OF
NATURAL HISTORY

THE
MUSEUM OF
ANTHROPOLOGY

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MUSEUM OF
ETHNOGRAPHY

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GEOGRAPHY

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LITERATURE

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MUSEUM OF
ARTS

P R E F A C E.

FEW books are more pleasing or instructive than those which contain accounts of travels or voyages, into distant countries. But at the same time, no writers seem more incapable of describing what they see, or more liable to be imposed upon by others, than many of those to whom we owe productions of this nature. The lot of visiting foreign climates, or traversing savage lands, has generally fallen to the avaritious or the devout, men whose views were contracted by gain, or blinded by superstition; thus, though in general they tell us what they have observed, their accounts are mixed with instances of gross ignorance, or mistaken zeal. We generally find their productions loaded with minute and uninteresting transactions, false miracles, nautical remarks, or tedious diaries, which fatigue the reader and repress curiosity.

The being acquainted with the world from books of this kind, thus becoming a task almost as difficult as visiting in person the places they describe; and the numbers of such books still increasing the difficulty, it was by many thought adviseable to reduce the number, and retrench the absurdities of such works by compilation. To this we owe the many *Collections* of voyages and travels that have been published at different times among us, all professing to afford the reader

the greatest pleasure in the smallest compass, the greatest benefits at the smallest expence.

The three most considerable collections of this kind are Purchase's Pilgrims, Churchill's, and Harris's Collection of Voyages and Travels. As to *Purchase*, it was collected at a time when the natural history of nations was yet but in its infancy, and consequently his books are filled with all the folly and credulity of those who were deceived themselves, or with the gross falsehood of such as strove to acquire reputation by deceiving others.

Churchill, exclusive of the size and price (it consisting of no less than eight folio volumes) has but little advantage of the former; he has given place to much lumber, for it seemed a maxim with him to reject nothing.

The former observations are in a great measure applicable to the collection by Dr. Harris. Many of the articles given in his work are very old, delivered in very bad language, and in many instances of doubtful authenticity. Hence this, as well as the two former, is now purchased rather from motives of curiosity than pleasure, rather by the antiquary than the modern reader. The success of these works (for with all their faults they were found to be useful, and consequently were well received by the public) has produced many smaller abridgments, which have appeared at different times and in various sizes. It is scarce necessary to remark on these, that they are but little known, and after their first publication little called for. The views of the publishers being merely lucrative, they have been compiled with so little judgment, and printed with

with so little care, that they may justly be considered and ranked among the number of those works which are merely calculated to please the vulgar. Some of these compilations therefore, though promising in the title the contents of a folio, are too small to afford much entertainment to the disappointed purchaser.

To mix profit with delight should be the aim of all writers, and the business of every book: and nothing can contribute more to these valuable ends than a judicious work of this nature, in which we can travel to the most distant corners of the world, without stirring from our closets, choose the most entertaining route, embark with the most agreeable companions, view remote cities and their governments, extend our acquaintance through all the nations of the globe, and interest ourselves in a succession of incidents and adventures, that at once improve the mind and delight the imagination.

These purposes, we apprehend, have not been fully answered in the voluminous collections which have hitherto appeared in our language: the size and price of a folio are sufficient to intimidate an ordinary reader from purchasing the work, or perusing its contents. And what we observed in regard to travels is equally applicable to the numerous accounts of voyages that have obtained a place in even the best compilations. They are generally so stuffed with dry descriptions of bearings and distances, tides and currents, variations of the compass, leeward, wind and weather, sounding, anchoring, and other terms of navigation, that none but mere pilots, or seafaring people, can read

them without disgust. In a word, they are filled with such remarks as may be very useful in a sea-journal, to justify the conduct of the mariners to their owners, but which in a general view furnish few articles of useful information or entertainment.

From these considerations, and from a mature conviction that a compilation of this kind might be rendered more authentic and useful than any hitherto published, we have been induced to offer a New Collection of Voyages and Travels to the public, to whose candor the principles on which the present undertaking has been framed, are here submitted. Our wishes were to present the reader with an account of the several countries of the world, and their inhabitants; the natural history of each kingdom, and of the rivers or seas which divide kingdoms from each other. In short, to give such a description of the Globe which we inhabit as at once might be concise, yet comprehensive, as might catch the fancy while it improved the understanding; and we may venture to say, that he who has made a proper use of this work will scarce want any other assistance to complete his skill in geography, as far at least as it is unconnected with astronomy or mathematical calculations.

In order to this, great care was to be taken in the selecting of proper guides. And even in some of the best, the caution was to be used of not implicitly following them into error or absurdities.

In the arrangement of the materials, we have brought together the different accounts of each country into one view, though they may have been

been made at very distant periods; and when there was an opportunity of choice among writers on the same nation, the latest visitors have generally been preferred, as likely to give the least fallacious information.

This collection admitted of a natural division into two capital parts, namely, those who visited the coasts only, and of those who travelled through the interior countries. In the *Voyages*, which form the first part of this work, the reader will find a true picture of naval vicissitudes and dangers. The courses pursued by vessels from one country to another, their shipwrecks and escapes. Here will be found descriptions of the several coasts, bays, rivers and harbours, with such accounts of the inhabitants as a cursory acquaintance could supply.

The latter part of this work consists of *Travels* only, and exhibits the interior parts. The accounts of these contain a more minute detail of the natural history of each country, its monuments of antiquity, its government, religion, commerce, manners, and spirit of thinking. The whole given not with the dry and disgusting prolixity of a geographer, but for the most part in the language of the travellers themselves; a language in some instances rude indeed, but energetic, expressive of the feelings of men acquainted with fatigue and with danger. Nor will it be one of the smallest advantages of this work, that we have scarce any where omitted the hazard, the calamities, the hair-breadth escapes, which these bold men have endured and surmounted. These accounts interest us as we read; we travel on with the pilgrim; fear for his

distresses, and exult in his deliverance and satisfaction.

From this method it is hoped that we have united the two great aims of every writer, instruction and amusement. While the reader is only pursuing his entertainment, he will here find himself deceived into science, and that with as great certainty as if he had spent his time in making himself master of the most voluminous system of geography. Here will be found what such scientific works offer, but without their disgusting dryness. A connected system is not therefore to be expected under this form; but that nothing should be wanting to this purpose, the whole work is introduced by a familiar compendium of geography, as it is necessary to know something of the usual divisions of the Globe, its circles and its points, before we enter into its more minute discriminations.

In pursuance of this plan, the first volume contains, besides the compendium of geography above mentioned, the first discovery of America, by Columbus, beginning with him as his voyages are the first in order of time, which merit regard, and have occasioned also so great an alteration in the commercial system of Europe. This discovery naturally leads us to consider Spanish America, and to give an account of the conquest of Mexico and Peru by the Spaniards, under Pizarro and Cortez. To this more ancient state of those countries, we have added Ulloa's most modern account, so that we see with precision what alterations these extensive countries have underwent since they came under the dominion of Spain. The volume concludes with

with a view of the policy which regulates the trade between Old Spain and its colonies; containing some curious particulars not generally known.

In the second volume we give in Nieuhoff's Voyage to the Brazil, an account of the Portuguese settlement there, enlarged by some further particulars of later date. Then follows a memoir concerning the Jesuits in Paraguay, and directing our course northward, we close what relates to the Portuguese and Spanish possessions on the continent by Wafer's description of the Isthmus of Darien. Still steering to the north, the British dominions in that country claim our principal attention. We have therefore, from the latest information, given a connected view of the British settlements from Florida to Newfoundland; and have also added a description of the American Islands, to whatever nation they belong, in which their respective products and articles of trade have been especially regarded. For many of the particulars relating to the Indians and inland parts of this extensive empire, we are obliged to major Rogers, col. Bouquet, and governor Pownal; these are the guides we have taken, in preference to the French descriptions of these countries, which, upon many accounts, are more liable to suspicion. If we have extended a little in this part of the work, it is hoped that the interest every Briton has in the countries described will be a sufficient apology. Nor is this the only objection we have to fear in this part of the work. It may be urged, that as the continent of North America is so very extensive backwards, what we have in this place
given

given from Wafer, Rogers and Bouquet, relating to the interior parts, belong rather to the department of travellers. We acknowledge the objection, and only have to answer, that we have always sacrificed method to perspicuity, and in this instance have rather given the whole of the accounts of the new world under one view, than perplexed the reader by partial and separate information.

Having thus, as far as our design admitted, exhausted the description of the New World, we next proceed to the first discovery of the East Indies by the Portuguese, and in an introduction to De Gama's Voyage, have traced the several progressive attempts which led to the doubling the Cape of Good-Hope. After De Gama's, we have, as a curiosity, given the first voyage to these parts, undertaken by the English on account of the East India company. Then follows a Voyage to the Cape Verd Islands, Kolbein's accurate account of the Cape of Good-Hope, and Nieuhoff's Voyage to the East Indies, in which is introduced a faithful narrative of the cruelties practised by the Dutch on the English at Amboyna. The volume closes with a short view of the English settlements and trade in these parts of the world.

Having now given the completest accounts that could be obtained from the preceding method, of the western and eastern navigations; the third volume is appropriated to the circumnavigators of the Globe: Men whose attempts were great, and distresses surprising, but who, with an unspeakable fortitude, surmounted all, and returned to enrich their native country by their
their

their wealth and their discoveries. Of these we have selected Drake, Dampier, Woodes Rogers, and especially Anson; since the voyage of the latter, whether we consider the authenticity of his matter, or the elegant manner in which it is related, may be considered as the most valuable publication of the kind.

With the circumnavigators, we close the first division of this collection, which consists of voyages: in the fourth, fifth, and sixth volumes, we have given the relations of the most approved travellers through Europe, Africa and Asia; beginning at the north of Europe, and advancing southward and eastward, as far as their journeys could be extended by land. Where these have been tedious, too minute or disgustingly dry, we have taken the liberty to retrench them. On the contrary, where any have been superficial or negligent, we have taken the liberty of improving their accounts by inserting passages from others. Thus, Keysser, for instance, who is reckoned one of the most faithful describers of Europe, is at the same time so prolix, that we have in many places curtailed his too minute descriptions of uninteresting objects, which has afforded an opportunity of engrafting in proper places, from later writers, some of the most judicious remarks on the living manners and peculiarities of the inhabitants of various countries, that have appeared in any language. Wherever we have availed ourselves of the observations of these writers, the obligation is in every instance acknowledged.

After traversing so many foreign countries, it would be an unpardonable omission to have overlooked our own, and like some ministers,

too

too much employed in foreign conquests, leave our native dominions unregarded. In other countries we had, perhaps, scenes of natural beauty, luxuriant soils, and happy climates to describe; but in Britain we chiefly confined ourselves to what makes the happiness of the people still superior to that derived from such advantages, namely, the government of the country, its constitution and excellent laws. It is these which make Great Britain the delight, the envy and the mistress of the world; and in this part of our undertaking, it would be ungenerous not to own our obligations to the learned Dr. Blackstone, whose commentary on the laws of England affords the most accurate and clear idea of the British constitution; and in some measure does what had been despaired of by others, reconciles law and philosophy.

Having described our interior government and laws, it was thought a necessary conclusion to this work to exhibit a short historical view of our naval transactions from the time when our navy became respectable by the defeat of the Spanish Armada, to the end of the late successful war. Nor will this be so foreign from our principal design, as may appear on a transient glance: for in this we shall see the effect of wise regulations on land powerfully operating on the ocean, we shall see how far a just policy at home is capable of rendering us formidable in every part abroad.

This, it is hoped, will suffice (nor could less have been sufficient) to give the reader a previous idea of the nature of the collection here put into his hands; of the labour this work hath cost,
of

of the many volumes we have been obliged to wade through, and which were to be read, though they were at length to be rejected. Men not versed in studies of this kind are apt to overlook a collector's assiduity, and despise his care; yet it is necessary, both for the improvement and entertainment of mankind, that there should be such writers, men of studious application and humble aims, willing to promote knowledge without being known, and to smooth the way to victories which they are not to share. The pains we have been at is unnecessary to be insisted on; the expence which this work has cost is obvious. It was our design to make such a collection as would afford at once the utility of a geographical system, and the amusement of itinerary adventures: to offer nothing of our own but what was necessary to connect the materials, and to give nothing from any other but what might be depended upon as true. While there are readers willing to acquire knowledge without pain, and entertainment without interruption, a work of this kind must be useful. And this we may venture to say, that we undertook the task not because we thought that the work was likely to sell, but because we knew it was wanting.

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A SHORT
INTRODUCTION
TO A
GENERAL KNOWLEDGE of the EARTH,
AND THE
FIRST PRINCIPLES of GEOGRAPHY.

BEFORE we descend to the doctrine of the Earth and its affections, it will not be impertinent to premise a summary view of the Solar system of which it is a part: as the several particulars comprehended under the term Geography, cannot be adequately understood, without attending to the consideration of the Earth as a planet; which will account for several principles that must else be received implicitly, without understanding the causes from which they are to be deduced.

The most conspicuous celestial object which attracts our notice, is that glorious luminary the Sun; the parent of light and heat to those several bodies which moving round it in regular orbits * and stated periods, from west to east, constitute that family of Planets denominated the Solar system.

* By the orbit of a planet is to be understood that path it describes in space round the Sun; whose attraction combining with the planet's projectile force, (which tends to carry it forward in a direct line) retains and causes it to regard the Sun as a centre, revolving continually round, without ever deviating from its regular course,

Of these, Astronomers have discovered six, which are distinguished by the names of Mercury, Venus, the Earth, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. But though so intimately connected with us in the same relation to our common Sun; yet by reason of their great distances, these planets are not distinguishable by the eye from the fixed stars, excepting by a superior brightness.

The Sun, an immense globe of fire, is placed near the common centre of the orbits of all the planets which compose our system. His diameter is computed to be 763 thousand miles; he turns round his own axis * in 25 days 6 hours, of our time; as is discovered by attending to the motion of spots on his surface; and, by the various attractions of the circumvolving planets, he is agitated by a small motion round the centre of gravity of the whole system.

Mercury, the nearest planet to the Sun, describes his revolution in 87 days 23 hours nearly, of our time; which is therefore the length of his year. But being so near the Sun, and no spots being seen on his surface, the time of rotation on his axis, or the length of his day and night, remains as yet unknown. His diameter is computed at 2600 miles, and his distance from the Sun to be about 36 millions of miles †. The light and heat he receives from the Sun are almost seven times as great in degree as

* The axis of a planet is a line conceived to be drawn through the centre of it, from one side to the other, about which it revolves as on a real spindle; the extremities of this line terminating at opposite points of the planet's surface, are called the poles of it.

† The distances of the planets from the Sun here assigned differ from those hitherto received, being much larger; they are taken on the authority of the ingenious Mr. Ferguson (whom we have in general followed in this little compendium) as ascertained from observations of the late transit of Venus over the disk of the Sun, in 1761. See the Table, p. 10.

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with us: yet is the great heat of this planet no sufficient argument against its being inhabited. Heat and cold are relative terms, and as our globe is inhabited, it is a conclusion warranted by analogic reasoning, that all other globes which like us revolve round the Sun, are also furnished with inhabitants; whose constitutions are suitably framed to the circumstances of their situation. When viewed through a good telescope, Mercury exhibits all the various phases of the Moon, excepting that we never see him quite full; for, when his enlightened side is turned full toward our Earth, he is either wholly lost in the Sun's beams, or hid by the interposition of that grand luminary.

The next planet in order is Venus, whose diameter is 7906 miles, and her distance from the Sun near 69 millions of miles. She goes round the Sun in 224 days 17 hours nearly, of our time: but Astronomers differ greatly as to the length of her day; Bianchini making it equal to $24\frac{1}{3}$ of our days; while Cassini makes her diurnal revolution to be in 23 hours; and Kepler and others compute it to be in about 14 hours: a disagreement owing to the difficulty of making accurate observations from her spots. When Venus appears westward of the Sun, she rises before him, and is then our morning star; when she appears eastward of him, she sets later, and is then called the evening star; being each in turn for 290 days.

Venus and Mercury are called inferior planets, from their orbits being included within that of the Earth.

The Earth which we inhabit, is the next planet beyond Venus in the system; at the distance of near 95 millions of miles from the Sun; which it encircles in 365 days 5 hours 49 minutes, as measured by the

B 2

time

INTRODUCTION.

time of its diurnal revolution round its own axis. The diameter of the earth is 7970 miles; and by turning round its axis every 24 hours from west to east, it causes, to its inhabitants, who conceive it to be at rest, an apparent motion of all heavenly bodies from east to west in the same time: a deception which all the penetration of many of the antient philosophers, could not enable them to correct; and which affords a striking instance of the danger of trusting wholly to appearances, and the evidence of our senses. By its diurnal rotation, the inhabitants of the equatorial parts, are rapidly carried 1042 miles every hour, while the Earth itself proceeds at the rate of 58 thousand miles, in the same space of time, on its annual passage round the Sun! This amazing motion, though 120 times swifter than that of a cannon ball, is yet but little more than half the swiftness of Mercury! And however this may stagger the belief of persons not used to such contemplations; if the Earth were supposed to be fixed, and all the heavenly bodies to move round it, as they seem to do, principles must be admitted infinitely more shocking to probability in every point of view.

The Earth is accommodated with an attendant planet or satellite called the Moon; which regards the Earth as a primary, moving round it, as the Earth moves round the Sun. Like the Earth, the Moon is a dark globe, shining only by reflecting the light of the Sun: its diameter is 2180 miles, and its distance from the centre of the Earth 240 thousand miles; revolving round it in 27 days 7 hours 43 minutes. When the moon is between us and the Sun, she disappears, as her dark side is then turned toward us; as she proceeds onward, we begin to see her enlightened side, which we call the new Moon, this increases to our view as she advances, until she comes to be opposite to the Sun; when her whole enlightened face being turned toward the Earth, she
appears

INTRODUCTION.

5

appears with a round illumined orb, which we term the full Moon. From the full, she seems to decrease gradually through the other half of her course, until her next conjunction with the Sun, when she disappears as before. The Moon turns round her axis in the same time exactly as she revolves round the Earth; which is the reason that the same side of her is always toward us; and that her day and night taken together, are as long as our lunar month.

To inhabitants of the Moon the Earth must appear the biggest body in the Universe, serving it in the capacity of a Moon, thirteen times as large as that appears to us. The Earth must wax and wane regularly to her: when she changes to us, the Earth will appear full to her; and when she is in her first quarter to us, the Earth is in its third quarter to her; and so *vice versa*.

All dark bodies exposed to the light of the Sun, cast a shadow behind them; which is nothing but a privation of light in the space opposite to the Sun, by the rays being intercepted by the opaque body: and the Earth and Moon being both opaque bodies, which derive all their light from the Sun; when either of them interposes, the other will in some measure be obscured. Thus, a solar eclipse is occasioned by the interposition of the Moon betwixt the Sun and the Earth; and a lunar eclipse, by that of the Earth betwixt the Sun and the Moon. Such is the bulk of the Sun, and the distances of the several planets, that the primary planets can never eclipse each other: a primary planet can only eclipse its secondary, or be eclipsed by it; and then only when in opposition to, or conjunction with, the Sun.

The Moon being less than the Earth, her shadow can never cover the whole globe, but only a part; and a total darkness happens only to those inhabitants
included

included within the shadow : the circumjacent parts within the penumbra or partial shadow, will receive different degrees of illumination, according to the distance from the centre of the real shadow. Beyond the limits of this penumbra, the Sun's face appears entire, and no eclipse is perceived.

As it is evident there can be no eclipse of the Sun, but when the Moon is in the change, so there can be no eclipse of the Moon but at the time of the full : and since there is a new and full Moon every month, it may be proper to point out the reason why there is not an eclipse at those times in every month also.

Did the orbit of the Moon coincide with the plane of the Earth's orbit, there would be a total eclipse of the moon at every full, and a central eclipse of the Sun at every change. But their orbits being placed obliquely, intersect each other in two points called nodes, where the Moon's orbit is found to make an angle of about five degrees with the ecliptic. The Moon, therefore, may be in such a position from the nodes, as to pass the opposition or conjunction either too high or too low to enter the shadow of the Earth, or to have her shadow or penumbra fall upon the Earth. Hence it is, that every new and full Moon do not necessarily occasion an eclipse : and it will farther appear, that no eclipse can happen but when the Moon is near one of her nodes ; when her distance from it will determine the quantity of the eclipse. Both kind of eclipses, may be either total, partial, or central.

The planet Mars is the next in order, beyond the orbit of the Earth. His distance from the Sun is computed to be near 145 millions of miles, and he goes round it in 686 of our days and 23 hours ; which is therefore the length of his year : the time of his diurnal revolution exceeds ours by 40 minutes. His
diameter

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diameter is 4444 miles; the Sun appears but half so large to him as to us; and his proportion of light and heat but half of what we receive. This planet being but a fifth part so large as the Earth, if he is attended by any moon, it must be very small; and no one has yet been discovered by our best telescopes.

Jupiter, the largest of all the planets, is still higher in the system; being about 493 millions of miles from the Sun. He is above 1000 times as large as our Earth, his diameter being 81 thousand miles: he accomplishes his annual period in 11 of our years, 314 days, and 12 hours; and turns round his axis in 9 hours 56 minutes. Jupiter is sometimes seen to be surrounded with some faint appearances which are called belts; but so many changes are observable in them, sometimes vanishing entirely, that nothing can be determined of them.

To Jupiter the Sun appears but $\frac{1}{11}$ part so large as he does to us; and must communicate light and heat in proportion. But this deficiency is compensated by the quick succession of his days; and by four moons, some larger and some less than our Earth, which revolve about him: so that there is no part of this large planet, but what is enlightened by one or more of them, during the night season. The first moon, or that nearest him, goes round him in 1 day, 18 hours, 36 minutes of our time, at the distance of 229 thousand miles from his centre; the second, performs his revolution in 3 days, 13 hours, 15 minutes, at 364 thousand miles distance; the third, in 7 days, 3 hours, 59 minutes, at the distance of 580 thousand miles; and the fourth or outermost, in 16 days, 18 hours, 30 minutes, at one million of miles distance from his centre. The three nearest of his moons pass through his shadow and are eclipsed in every revolution; but the orbit of his fourth moon is so much inclined,

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inclined, that it passes its opposition to Jupiter without falling into his shadow, two years in every six. By these eclipses astronomers have not only discovered that the Sun's light is eight minutes of time in coming to us; but they can also determine the longitude of places on this Earth, with greater facility and certainty, than by any other method yet known.

Saturn, the most remote of all the planets, is about 904 millions of miles from the Sun: his diameter is 67 thousand miles; he is therefore near 600 times the size of our Earth. He performs his annual circuit in 29 of our years, 167 days, 5 hours; but not having any spots on his body which are visible to us, at this distance, the position of his axis, the time of his turning round it, and the length of his day and night, are of consequence unknown to us. To Saturn the Sun appears only $\frac{1}{85}$ part so large as he is seen by us; to which his light and heat bear proportion: but then he is attended with five moons, the periods and distances of which are as follows. The first or nearest moon goes round him in 1 day, 21 hours, 19 minutes, at the distance of 140 thousand miles from his centre; the second, in 2 days, 17 hours, 40 minutes, at 187 thousand miles distance; the third, in 4 days, 12 hours, 25 minutes, at 263 thousand miles distance; the fourth, in 15 days, 22 hours, 41 minutes, at 600 thousand miles distance; and the fifth or outermost, in 79 days, 7 hours, 48 minutes, at one million 800 thousand miles distance.

Beside these five moons, Saturn is accommodated with a singular phenomenon, being surrounded by a broad thin illumined ring, at about 21 thousand miles distance; and being also about the same breadth. One half of this ring is enlightened by the Sun for near 15 of our years together, that is, for one half

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half of Saturn's solar revolution; for so long time therefore will this ring be visible and invisible alternately: but should the axis of the planet be inclined to the ring, it would appear and disappear once every of their natural days, to the inhabitants, for a distance on each side of Saturn's equinoctial, equal to the supposed inclination. Many other cases might be stated from different suppositions; which, though they would prove entertaining to speculative readers, our limits will not allow us to dwell upon.

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A TABLE of the Diameters, Periods, &c. of the several Planets in the Solar System.

Names. of the Planets.	Diameters.	Mean distances. from the Sun, as determined from observations of the transit of Ve- nus, in 1761	Annual periods round the Sun.	Diurnal rotations.	Inclination of Axis to Orbit.	Jupiter's moons.		Saturn's moons.	
						Periods round their primary.	Time.	Periods round their primary.	Time.
Sun	Miles. 763000	E. miles 36,668,373	d. h. 87 23	d. h. 25 6	8° unkn.				
Mercury	2600	68,518,044	224 17	unkn.	75° 23° 29'		d. h. m. 1 21 19		d. h. m. 1 21 19
Venus	7906	94,725,840	365 6	1	2° 10'		2 17 40		2 17 40
Earth	7970	ditto.	ditto.	29 12 ½	0		4 12 45		4 12 45
Moon	2180	144,588,575	686 23	24 40	0		15 22 41		15 22 41
Mars	4444	492,665,307	4332 12	9 56	unkn.		79 7 48		79 7 48
Jupiter	81000	903,690,197	10759 7	unkn.		Moons. 1 2 3 4 5		Moons. 1 2 3 4 5	
Saturn	67000								

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We have now gone through a general account of the regular bodies which compose the solar system. But these are not all which belong to it; for we are sometimes visited by erratic bodies called Comets. These move in very eccentric ellipses, and return at very different periods; three of which being calculated are found to return at intervals of 75, 129, and 575 years. This last Comet, at its farthest recess, must be about 11 thousand 200 millions of miles from the Sun: while its least distance from the centre of the Sun is but 490 thousand miles: within less than $\frac{1}{3}$ part of the Sun's semidiameter from his surface. At this part of its orbit, in going round the Sun, its swiftness is found to be that of 880 thousand miles in an hour! The astonishing length which this Comet flies to in the universal space, naturally suggests to our imagination the vast distance betwixt our Sun and the nearest of the fixed stars! whose attraction the Comet cannot reach, to return periodically to the Sun: and hints to us that those stars shining by their own lustre, are also Suns each surrounded with its several system of planets, all reduced to one point of vision, by their astonishing distance.

The near approach some of these Comets make to the Sun is such, as would vitrify any known substance: the heat which that of the year 1680 thus acquired, was calculated by Sir Isaac Newton to exceed by 2000 times, that of red hot iron; and that being thus heated, it would retain its heat during its revolution until it returned to the Sun, were it 20 thousand years instead of 575. It is believed that there are at least 21 comets belonging to our system, moving in all directions.

The Comets appear with long transparent trains or tails extending from that side which is opposite the Sun; the nature of which has afforded much room for conjecture and controversy. But from the circumstance

cumstance of their constant opposition to the Sun, it is not improbable that they may be their several lucid atmospheres, which though lost in the rays of the Sun on their enlightened sides, may nevertheless be visible in their shadows.

That the universal space in which the celestial bodies move, is a vacuum, seems most reconcilable to phænomena, and to reason; whatever the Cartesians and others may oppose to the contrary. We find all mediums that we are acquainted with, to retard the motion of bodies, in proportion to the density of such medium; as the planets therefore proceed with such uniform motions, it argues, that the space in which they move must be void of all sensible resistance, and consequently of all sensible matter; except perhaps, as Sir Isaac Newton supposes, some few and much rarified effluvia of the planets and comets, and the passing rays of light.

This is farther corroborated by considering the azure colour of the sky; which admits of being more rationally accounted for on the principle of a vacuum, than upon any other principle. Where there is no matter to reflect the rays of light, (whatever those rays may by hypotheses be supposed to be), they will pass through such place, and leave it totally dark: now if the universal space be supposed to be totally dark; such darkness, seen through the enlightened atmosphere which surrounds the Earth, will necessarily be softened into an azure blue: and this we experience to be the colour of the sky; with this farther evidence in favour of the position, that the darker and clearer the air is, in the night season, the Sun and Moon being absent; of the deeper colour do we find the sky to appear.

The planetary motions admit of being physically accounted for from the known laws of motion. Thus
mathe-

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mathematicians and astronomers say, that from the uniform projectile motion of bodies in straight lines, and the power of attraction, which draws them off from their rectilineal courses, the curvilinear motions of all the planets arise. If a body which we will call *A*, be projected along a right line, in open space where it meets with no resistance, and without being influenced by any other power; it will proceed for ever in the same direction, and with the same velocity. For the force with which it moves any given distance, in any given time, will carry it as much farther, in as much more time. But if, when its projectile force has carried it some way, a superior body, as *B*, should begin to attract it, with a power duly adjusted, and perpendicular to its direction; it is demonstrable from the laws of the composition of forces, that the smaller body *A* would be drawn from its straight line, and revolve about the attracting body *B*: and if at any part of its orbit, a third body yet smaller, as *C*, should come within the sphere of the attraction of the revolving body *A*, with a projectile direction perpendicular to the attraction; this third body would be drawn into an orbicular motion round *A*, and will attend it in its course round the largest body *B*. Here the bodies *A*, *B* and *C*, are put in the circumstances of the Earth, Sun, and Moon.

By laws which it is not incumbent on us to enter into, it is found that bodies moving in space void of resistance, revolve in all kind of ellipses, long and short, according to the proportion the projectile force and gravitating power bear to each other: a very nice balance between them being requisite to produce a circular orbit. Those planets which move in long ellipses, have their projectile force greatly spent in the higher parts of their orbits; and their velocities in returning toward the Sun, prodigiously increased by his attraction. Here then their centrifugal forces are so great, as to overcome the Sun's attraction, and

to cause them to ascend again toward the higher parts of their orbits : during which time, the Sun's attraction acting contrary to their motion, causes them to proceed slower and slower, until by the diminution of their projectile forces, they are brought back again by the Sun's attraction as before.

Without entering into hypothetical reasoning on the inexplicable nature of gravity ; it is evident that in whatever that power may consist, it acts every moment of time : for should its action cease, the projectile force would instantly carry off the planets in tangents from those parts of their orbits where they were freed from the restraint of gravity. But being once put in motion, there is no occasion for any new projectile impulse, unless they meet with resistance in their orbits ; or were too much disturbed by their mutual attractions.

Were there no reciprocal action upon each other among the planets, the areas described by them, would be exactly proportionate to the times in which they were described. But observation has taught us, that such proportion is not exactly maintained ; and that the greatest deviations from it are, when the greatest number of planets are in any particular quarter of the system. Whenever two planets happen to be in conjunction, their mutual attractions, which tend to draw them nearer to each other, withdraws the inferior somewhat from the Sun, and causes the superior to advance a little toward him ; by which means the figures of their orbits suffer some alteration : and this alteration, though too inconsiderable to affect them sensibly in several ages ; affords room for some *philosophical* conjectures against the eternal duration of our world and system.

Having travelled so far and so long in the boundless expanse, our astonishment will by this time naturally

turally make us shrink back, and be glad to return home to our own planet the Earth.

In our approach toward the Earth, we shall find it necessary to observe, that though the universal space in which the planetary motions are performed, is void of all matter; yet for the great purposes of vegetation, and animal life, the Earth (and it is to be supposed all other of the planetary bodies likewise) is surrounded to a considerable height, with a thin fluid elastic medium, called air. This aerial ocean named the atmosphere, gravitates toward the centre of the Earth, in common with all other matter; and is therefore carried along with it on its surface, partaking both of its annual and diurnal motions: from whence it is that we are insensible of either of those motions, though so excessively rapid.

It appears from astronomical observations, of the duration of twilight, and of the magnitude of the terrestrial shadow in lunar eclipses, that the effect of the atmosphere in reflecting and intercepting the light of the Sun, is sensible to the altitude of between 40 and 50 miles. We may be certain then that the atmosphere reaches that height; and at that elevation the air is about 10 thousand times more rare or thin than at the surface of the Earth. How much higher it may extend, and what farther rarification it may admit of, we are totally ignorant.

It is one of the great discoveries of modern philosophers, that the several phænomena attributed by the ancients to a *fuga vucui*, are really owing to the weight and pressure of the air.

Air is one of the most considerable agents in nature; being concerned, as before intimated, in the diffusion of light, in the production of vegetables, and in the maintaining animal life. Its properties
and

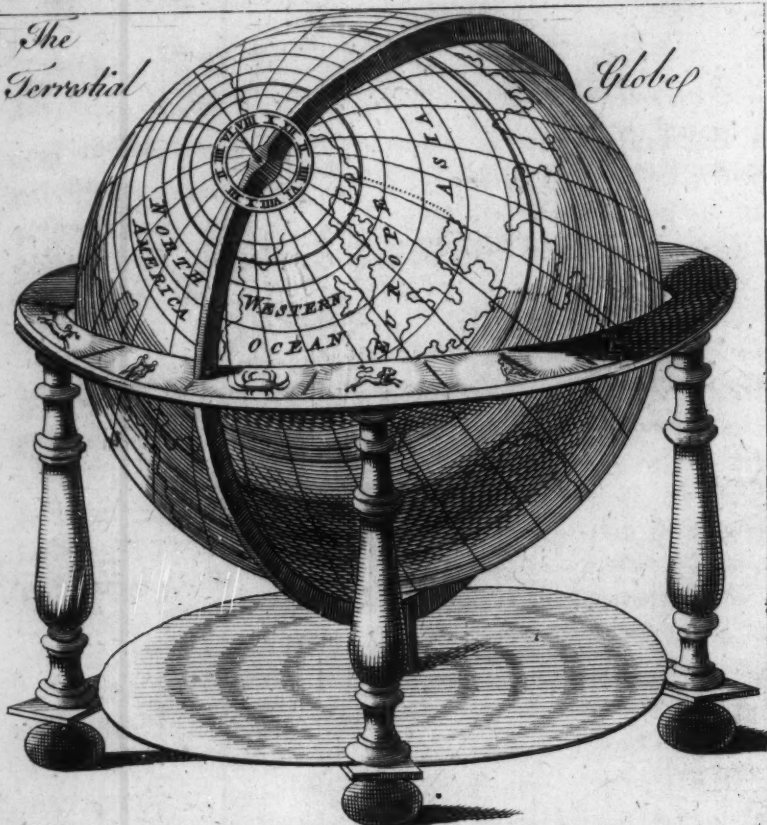
and effects including great part of the researches of modern philosophers have, as far as discovered, been reduced to precise laws and demonstrations; and compose a branch of philosophy and mathematics, called pneumatics.

The axis of the Earth, as has been already observed, is an imaginary line, on which, as a spindle, the whole mass turns round: corresponding to which, astronomers and geographers have denominated that line or circumference of the globe which is equidistant from the two poles of its axis, and which divides the globe into two hemispheres; the equinoctial line, or the equator: under which line, the day and night are equal in length throughout the year. Was the axis of the Earth perpendicular to the plane of its orbit, so that the equinoctial circle coincided with that plane; or in other words, was the Sun always vertical over that track of our Earth; in that case, there would be no diversity of seasons; but every part would unalterably enjoy that degree of the Sun's influence, which by the figure of the Earth distinguishes their respective climates. But the fact is otherwise; and the axis of the Earth is inclined to the plane of its orbit in an angle of $66^{\circ} 31'$: whence it happens that the plane of the equator cuts the plane of the Earth's orbit, in an angle of $23^{\circ} 29'$. The Sun by this means is successively twice in every year vertical over an extent of about 47° in the middle region between the two poles; describing a kind of spiral course from its farthest declination on one side the equinoctial, to an equal distance on the other side. It is this inclination of the plane of the equator to that of the annual orbit of the Earth, which occasions the variation of seasons, and the different lengths of day and night; which every country experiences in the course of a year: and has given rise to the invention of a number of arbitrary supposed circles on the globe, to enable mankind to treat of these



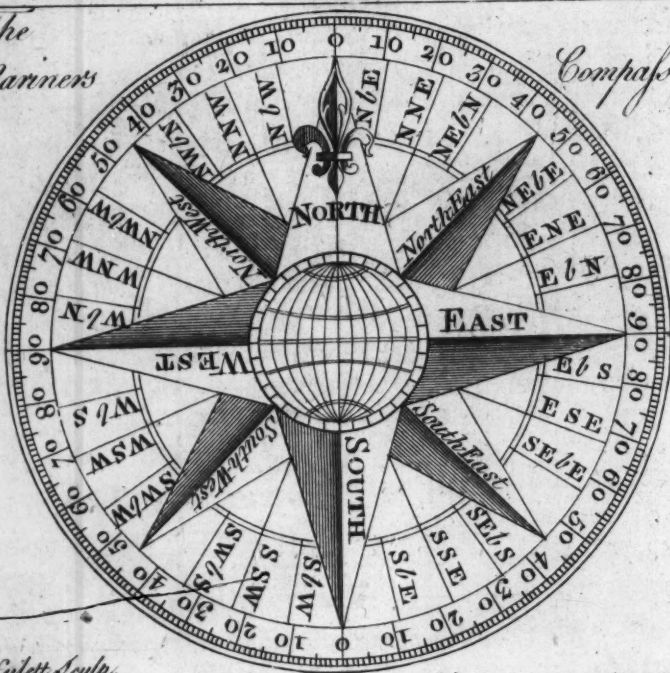
*The
Terrestrial*

Globe



*The
Mariners*

Compass



J. Rulatt Sculp.

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these matters with precision and facility; an explanation of which is subjoined, as they are represented on the armillary sphere.

The Armillary, or Artificial Sphere, is an instrument representing the several circles of the sphere in their natural order; serving to give an idea of the nature and position of them, relatively to each other; and to resolve and illustrate various problems concerning the Earth. It is called armillary sphere, as consisting of a number of rings of brass or other metal, in allusion to the ancient *armillae*, which were rings or bracelets for the arms.

Before we enter upon the consideration of circles, it is to be premised that all circles are commensurable with each other; and are divided into 360 parts, in reference to the circumference of the Earth at the equator; which is 360 degrees; each degree being subdivided into 60 miles or minutes.

A great circle of the sphere, is one whose circumference is equal to that of the sphere, and whose diameter and centre are the same with those of the sphere.

The two extremities of the Earth's axis are called its poles; one of which is known by the name of the *arctic*, or north pole, and the other by that of the *antarctic*, or south pole.

The *Equinoctial circle*, or *Equator*, as has been before described, is a great circle, in the plane of which the Earth performs its diurnal rotation: it is equidistant between the poles of its axis, and divides the globe into two equal hemispheres, the northern and the southern. When the Sun arrives at this circle, day and night are every where equal; from whence it has its name.

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The *Ecliptic* is a great circle cutting the equator in an angle of $23^{\circ} 29'$; and is that circle which is in the plane of the Earth's annual orbit, and which has this obliquity with its diurnal motion: it therefore describes the direction of the Earth's annual course.

The *Polar circles* are two lesser circles which the poles of the ecliptic describe round the poles of the equator. Their distance from the poles of the equator are therefore answerable to the obliquity of the ecliptic.

In astronomical considerations, as the several planets do not move round the Sun in the same plane with the Earth, though their deviations are not considerable; by extending the ecliptic 8° on either side, making it 16° broad; under which extension it is denominated the *Zodiac*; it then includes all the planetary orbits. The Zodiac was by the ancients divided, beginning at the equinoctial points, into 12 equal portions called signs, from the names of the constellations of fixed stars, which at the time of dividing it, were included in the parts assigned to them. The names and characters of these signs are as follow.

Aries	♈	Leo	♌	Sagittarius	♐
Taurus	♉	Virgo	♍	Capricornus	♑
Gemini	♊	Libra	♎	Aquarius	♒
Cancer	♋	Scorpio	♏	Pisces	♓

The knowledge of these signs is necessary, as the several seasons are frequently expressed by mentioning the Sun's place in them.

The vernal or spring signs, are Aries, Taurus, Gemini;

The æstival or summer signs, are Cancer, Leo, Virgo;

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The autumnal signs, are Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius ;

The brumal or winter signs, are Capricornus, Aquarius, Pisces.

The vernal and summer signs are called northern signs ; as being on the northern side of the equator : and the autumnal and brumal signs are called southern signs, from a like reason.

The *Tropics* may be defined two lesser circles of the globe, parallel to the equator, on either side, marking the greatest recess of the Sun from the equator toward each pole ; or shewing the greatest northern and southern declination of the Sun, or obliquity of the ecliptic.

Of the Tropics, that drawn through the beginning of Cancer, is called the Tropic of Cancer ; and the other through the beginning of Capricorn, the Tropic of Capricorn.

A *Meridian* is a great circle passing through the poles of the Equator, and dividing the globe into the eastern and western hemispheres ; it marks the time of noon, or when the Sun is at its greatest altitude over any place. A meridian is an arbitrary circle ; and as every part of the globe eastward or westward has a different meridian belonging to it, meridians may be drawn through any point in the Equator : all places under the same meridian, and on the same side of either pole, have their noon at the same time ; but of two places under the same meridian, on different sides of either pole, the mid-noon of one answers to mid-night of the other.

There are two meridians called *Colures* ; the one conceived to pass through the equinoctial points of intersection with the ecliptic, at the beginning of

Aries and Libra; the other at right angles to the former, through the first degrees of Cancer and Capricorn: these mark the commencement of the different seasons at every place situated under them; and are hence called the equinoctial, and solstitial colures.

The *Horizon* is a great circle of the sphere, dividing the world into two hemispheres, the one upper and visible, the other lower and invisible. The horizon is either sensible or rational: the sensible horizon is a circle touching the Earth in the point whereon we stand, the plane of which extends all round as far as our sight can reach: the rational horizon may be defined to be a plane passing through the centre of the Earth, and extended infinitely every way, parallel to the sensible horizon. The visible horizon is most accurately observed at sea, the inequalities and obstructions on land being great impediments: and it may be observed that in looking through the sights of a quadrant at the farthest part of the sea within view, the visual rays will, by the convexity of the surface of the sea, point a little below the true sensible horizon.

Horizons, like meridians, are moveable circles; every different place having a different horizon.

The exact situation of particular places and cities, is ascertained by determining their latitude and longitude.

The *Latitude* of any place, is its distance northward or southward from the equator, measured upon its meridian. But as numbers of places lie under the same parallels of latitude, the latitude of a place only, will not point out its situation without also knowing its longitude.

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The *Longitude* of any place, is the knowlege of the meridian of such place. Hence where the parallel of latitude, and the meridian of the place intersect each other, there its situation is pointed out. The latitude of any place is easily found, as it is measured from a known and invariable circle of the globe; but it is otherwise as to longitude; geography not supplying any rule for fixing a first meridian, from which all others may be measured and determined. It has therefore been the practice of geographers to fix upon the meridian of some remarkable place or city to measure from, as a first meridian; to which all other meridians refer. Ptolemy fixed it at the remarkable island of Teneriff, one of the Canary islands; as being the most western part of the then known world. The French geographers altered it to Ferro, another of the same cluster of islands; but now geographers of every nation generally reckon their longitude eastward and westward from their respective capital cities.

To discover a certain method for finding the longitude at sea, is a problem which has extremely perplexed the mathematicians for these two last ages; and for the solution whereof great rewards have been publicly offered by the English, French, Dutch, and other nations; this being the only article wanting to render navigation perfect. Various are the attempts that have been made, and methods proposed, but without success; their principles being found precarious or false, or their methods impracticable.

All methods depending on the phænomena of the heavens, having this one defect, that they cannot be observed at all times; and being beside of difficult and uncertain application at sea, from the motion of the vessel; many enquirers, leaving the moon, and satellites of Jupiter, have recourse to clocks and other time pieces. Could these be made perfectly just and

regular, so as to keep true time without gaining or losing; and without being affected by change of air and difference of climates; the longitude of a ship's place might thence be found with all required accuracy. For, since by the diurnal motion of the Earth, every point upon its surface describes the circumference of a circle or 360° , in twenty four hours, it is plain it must describe 15° in one hour: hence the difference of longitude may be converted into time, and time into difference of longitude; consequently by knowing the one, we are enabled to discover the other. Whatever contrivance therefore will shew the hours of the day at the same absolute point of time in two different places, will also serve to find the difference of longitude between those places. Such a machine has by long and assiduous study, and repeated trials at sea, been so far effected by Mr. Harrison, a very ingenious watchmaker, that he has obtained half the reward due by act of parliament, to the person making such discovery to an assigned degree of accuracy.

Degrees of latitude are all assumed equal in length, but degrees of longitude vary in every parallel of latitude: for all meridians meeting in one point at the poles, the degrees of longitude necessarily diminish as they recede on either side from the equator. An orange with the rind stripped off, is a good illustration of this fact; where the natural divisions of the fruit, are a lively representation of the meridians of a globe: and transverse sections, or slices of it cut crossways, will shew how the distances between them lessen, from the middle slice, which may be supposed to shew the plane of the equator, to the lesser slices either way, toward those points where the divisions all meet.

The following table shews the length of a degree of longitude, through all the parallels of latitude,
from

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from the equator where it is reckoned at 60 miles or parts, to the poles where it diminishes to nothing.

A TABLE: Shewing the length of a Degree of Longitude, at every parallel of Latitude.

Lat. Miles. Min.	Lat. Miles. Min.	Lat. Miles. Min.
Equator 60 00		
1 59 56	31 51 24	61 29 04
2 59 55	32 50 52	62 28 08
3 59 52	33 50 20	63 27 12
4 59 50	34 49 44	64 26 16
5 59 46	35 49 08	65 25 20
6 59 40	36 48 32	66 24 24
7 59 37	37 47 56	67 23 28
8 59 24	38 47 16	68 22 32
9 59 10	39 46 36	69 21 32
10 59 00	40 46 00	70 20 32
11 58 52	41 45 16	71 19 32
12 58 40	42 44 36	72 18 32
13 58 28	43 43 52	73 17 32
14 58 12	44 43 08	74 16 32
15 58 00	45 42 24	75 15 32
16 57 40	46 41 40	76 14 32
17 57 20	47 41 00	77 13 32
18 57 04	48 40 08	78 12 32
19 56 44	49 39 20	79 11 28
20 56 24	50 38 32	80 10 24
21 56 00	51 37 44	81 9 20
22 55 36	52 37 00	82 8 20
23 55 12	53 36 08	83 7 20
24 54 48	54 35 26	84 6 12
25 54 24	55 34 24	85 5 12
26 54 00	56 33 32	86 4 12
27 53 28	57 32 40	87 3 12
28 53 00	58 31 48	88 2 4
29 52 28	59 31 00	89 1 4
30 51 56	60 30 00	90 0 00

The before described circles of the sphere, serve equally for geographical, and for astronomical computations: geographers conceive them to be on the surface of the Earth; while astronomers extend and transfer them to the orb which bounds our view of the vast expanse of the Universe.

That the Earth is of a spherical form, is a truth too well ascertained by phænomena and analogic reasoning, to need defending now: the demonstrative proofs of its having been sailed round by navigators; the manner of the first appearance, and last disappearance of ships at sea; the mast-head first, and then gradually more and more down to the hull, being seen in the first case, which disappear inversely in the second case; and lastly, the constant circular appearance of the shadow of the Earth as seen in eclipses of the Moon; all establish this great truth beyond possibility of doubt. The deep vallies and stupendous mountains and rocks which give the Earth so rough and irregular an appearance to our minute inspection on the surface, are no greater interruptions to its globular figure, than the little protuberances in the skin of an orange or lemon.

The spherical form of the Earth, according to Sir Isaac Newton, arises from the great principle of attraction, which the Creator has stamped on all the matter of the Universe: whereby all bodies and their constituent parts, mutually tend toward, and attract each other. Hence arises the spherical figure of drops of rain, quicksilver, and other detached portions of fluids.

Though we call the Earth a sphere, it is found not to be absolutely so; its equatorial diameter being longer than its polar; Sir Isaac Newton ascertains the difference to be about 34 miles; so that its figure somewhat resembles that of a nine-pin bowl, swelling out

out toward the equator, and flatted at the poles, in the form that mathematicians term an oblate spheroid. If the Earth were in a fluid state, its revolution round its axis would necessarily make it assume such a figure; as the centrifugal force being greatest under the equator, would throw the fluid toward the equatorial parts, where it would rise and swell most: and that its figure should really be so now, seems consonant to reason, as otherwise the Sea in that part of the Earth, would overflow the Land.

This theory is greatly confirmed and illustrated, by attending to the circumstances and figure of the planet Jupiter. As this planet, which is so much larger than the Earth, revolves in 9 hours, 56 minutes; it appears that his equatorial parts must have an amazing velocity, and must throw him into a spheroidal form. Accordingly the difference between his equatorial and polar diameters is found to be 6230 miles: so that his poles are 3115 miles nearer his centre, than his equator is. This is the necessary result of the quick motion round his axis: for, the fluids with so much earth as is washed away with them, must recede from the poles which are nearly at rest (as to his diurnal motion) toward the equator where the motion is excessively rapid; until a sufficient quantity should be there accumulated, to balance the deficiency of gravity, lost by the centrifugal force: when this equilibrium is adjusted, the equatorial parts would rise no higher; but his figure remain permanent. Our Earth being but small, compared with him, and its motion much slower, is of course less altered by it; hence our poles are but about 17 miles nearer the centre, than the surface at the equator is.

In the first volume of Dr. Long's Astronomy, is mentioned an ingenious method of finding nearly the proportion of Land to Sea on the surface of our Earth;

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Earth; which is by carefully cutting out the Land from the paper of a large terrestrial globe, and weighing it against the paper which represents the Sea: this the Doctor performed, (exclusive of the areas of the polar circles, of the contents of land or water in which we have no proper knowledge) and by the proportion their weights bore to each other, he concluded that almost three fourth parts of the surface of the Earth are covered with water.

By the before-mentioned tropics and polar circles, the Earth is distinguished into five portions or *Zones*, denominated from the different circumstances attending their situation. The different *Zones* are attended with a great diversity of phænomena.

The *Torrid Zone* is all that middle circumference of the globe included between the two tropics of Cancer and Capricorn; its breadth is therefore $46^{\circ} 58'$: the equator passing through the middle of it, divides it into two equal and parallel parts, each $23^{\circ} 29'$ broad. The Sun passes through the Zenith in this *Zone* twice in every year; and his recess from the equator toward the pole which is above the Horizon, is twice a-year equal to the height of the Pole. The ancients thought the *Torrid Zone* to be uninhabitable.

The *Temperate Zones* are two parallel circumferential portions of the Earth's surface, contained between the tropics and the polar circles, on either side the *Torrid Zone*. Their respective breadths are $43^{\circ} 2'$. The Sun never reaches the Zenith in these *Zones*. In the *Torrid* and *Temperate Zones*, the Sun rises and sets every natural day; as the distance of the Sun from the Pole, always exceeds the height of the Pole above the Horizon: yet in every part, excepting under the Equator, the artificial days are unequal; and this inequality is the greater, the farther any place is distant from the Equator.

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The *Frigid Zones*, are segments of the Earth's surface, included, the one by the arctic, and the other by the antarctic circles ; the breadth of each is $46^{\circ} 58'$.

Where the Temperate Zones border on the Frigid, the elevation of the Pole is equal to the Sun's distance from it, when in the neighbouring tropic : consequently once a year the Sun performs a revolution without sinking under the Horizon. Every where in a Frigid Zone, the elevation of the Pole is greater than the least distance of the Sun from the Pole ; therefore in these tracts, beginning at $66^{\circ} 30'$, at the summer solstice, the day is a month long, and the night at the winter solstice, is of the same duration : and at the Poles the Sun does not set for one six months, nor appear above the Horizon for the next six months ensuing.

For the greater precision in treating of different countries, the Zones are subdivided into *Climates* ; serving to distinguish places by the length of their longest days, which differ in every parallel of latitude.

The day is constantly 12 hours long at the Equator, and increases in length, in proportion to distances north or south from the Equator toward the Poles.

A *Climate* then is a track round the globe parallel to the Equator, wherein the day is half an hour longer than it is in the next superior Climate toward the Equator ; and half an hour shorter than the next inferior Climate toward the Poles.

There are 30 Climates reckoned between the Equator and either of the Poles ; in the first twenty four, the days increase by half hours ; but in the remaining six, between each polar circle and the Pole, they differ by months, as will appear by the following Table.

Climates

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Climates.	Latitude.		Breadth.		Longest Day.	
	D.	M.	D.	M.	H.	M.
1	8	25	8	25	12	30
2	16	25	8		13	
3	23	50	7	25	13	30
4	30	25	6	30	14	
5	36	28	6	8	14	30
6	41	22	4	54	15	
7	45	29	4	7	15	30
8	49	01	3	32	16	
9	52	00	2	57	16	30
10	54	27	2	29	17	
11	56	37	2	10	17	30
12	58	29	1	52	18	
13	59	58	1	29	18	30
14	61	18	1	20	19	
15	62	25	1	7	19	30
16	63	22		57	20	
17	64	06		44	20	30
18	64	49		43	21	
19	65	21		32	21	30
20	65	47		22	22	
21	66	06		19	22	30
22	66	20		14	23	
23	66	28		8	23	30
24	66	31		3	24	
25	67	21	1 Month			
26	69	48	2 Months			
27	73	37	3 Months			
28	78	30	4 Months			
29	84	05	5 Months			
30	90		6 Months			

The

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The application of this Table is very obvious; since by knowing the latitude of any particular place; a single inspection of the table will shew what Climate it is in, and the length of the longest day at one view. However, for the more ready information of the reader, we shall add, as a kind of Index to the Table, a list of some of the most remarkable places situated in each Climate.

I. Within the first Climate lie the Gold and Slave coast in Africa, the Moluccas, the Maldives, Borneo, Malacca, Sumatra, &c.

II. Here lie Abyssinia, Ethiopia, Siam, Cormandel, and the island of Ceylon.

III. Contains Mecca, Arabia Felix, Bengal, Tonquin, and Mexico.

IV. The island of Ormus, in the Persian-gulf; great part of Indostan, the Canary islands, and Alexandria in Egypt.

V. Babylon, Tunis, Rhodes, Ispahan, Nankin, and Pekin in China.

VI. Lisbon and great part of Portugal, Madrid in Spain, Palermo in Sicily, great part of Greece, Asia Minor, the Persian provinces on the Caspian Sea, part of India, and Great Tartary, Corea, and Japan, part of California, New Mexico, Louisiana, Florida, Georgia, part of South Carolina, the Bahama islands, and the Azores.

VII. Biscay and all the northern provinces of Spain, the southern provinces of France, Milan, Rome, Venice, Belgrade, Constantinople, the Black Sea, Georgia, the Caspian Sea, Great Tartary, Boston in New-England, and Port-Royal in Nova Scotia.

VIII. Paris and the interior provinces of France, Vienna, Hungary, Crim Tartary, Canada, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland.

IX. London, Prague, Francfort, Cracow, the southern province of Muscovy, &c.

X. Dublin,

X. Dublin, Amsterdam, Dantzic, Warfaw, and part of Russia.

XI. Edinburgh, Copenhagen, &c.

XII. Gottenburgh, in Sweden, Riga, in Livonia, &c.

XIII. Stockholm, the middle parts of the Russian dominions in Europe and Asia, part of Terra de Labrador, on the coast of Hudson's Bay.

XIV. The Orkney isles, great part of Norway, Sweden, Russia, and Hudson's straits, &c.

XV. Bergen in Norway, part of Finland, and the southern part of Greenland.

XVI. Perma Welick, a town in Muscovy.

XVII. Part of Finland, Russia, &c.

XVIII. Drontheim in Norway.

XIX. Tobolski, the capital of Siberia.

XX. Town of Vistrum in Finland.

XXI. Port of Torna in Bothnia.

XXII. Caienbourgh in Russia.

XXIII. Skalhott in Iceland.

XXIV. Holar in Iceland.

XXV. Moscovite Lapland.

XXVI. Groenland.

XXVII. Zembla Australis.

XXVIII. Zembla Borealis.

XXIX. Spitzbergen or Greenland.

XXX. Unknown.

Beside the before-mentioned divisions and subdivisions of the Earth, other distinctions have obtained, which are rather fanciful than useful. Thus, the ancients named the inhabitants of the Earth, from the inclination of their shadows, *Periscii*, *Heteroscii*, and *Amphiscii* or *Ascii*.

The *Periscii*, are those beyond the polar circles, whose shadows turn round them every 24 hours.

Heteroscii,

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Heteroscii, are the inhabitants of the Temperate Zones, whose noon shadows ever fall one way; the north Temperate Zone throwing them northward, and the south Temperate Zone throwing them southward.

The *Amphiscii*, are those of the Torrid or middle Zone; whose noon shadows fall different ways at different seasons: and because twice in the year the Sun is in their zenith, and their bodies cast no shadow on either side, they are also called *Ascii*. These names are of Greek derivation.

Mankind are also from their different relative situations, denominated *Perieci*, *Antieci*, and *Antipodes*.

The *Perieci* are those who live in the same parallel, have the same latitude and seasons, and the same pole elevated; but have opposite meridians, and consequently opposite day and night.

Antieci, are those people who have the same meridian but opposite parallels, equidistant from the Equator, on contrary sides. Their longitude is the same, their day and night of the same length; but they have contrary poles and seasons.

Antipodes are such whose parallel and meridian are both opposite: they have the whole globe between them in diametrical opposition; and have contrary poles elevated. Their feet are directly opposed; and their day and night, their winter and summer contrary to each other.

This subject cannot properly be dismissed, without attending a little to the surprising phænomena of the flux and reflux of the sea; with the generation of winds: and giving some general idea of the causes to which they are owing.

Were

Were the Earth so far removed from the influence of the Sun and Moon as to be without the spheres of their attractions; it is not to be doubted, but the Ocean being equally pressed by the force of gravity toward the centre of the Earth, would continue every where in a state of perfect stagnation. But it being demonstrable that the Sun and Moon have a like principle of gravitation toward their centres, and that the Earth is within the activity of their attractions; it will plainly follow, that the equality of the gravitation of bodies toward the centre of the Earth, will thereby be disturbed: and though the small degrees of these counteractions render them imperceptible by any experiments we can make; yet the Ocean being fluid, and yielding to the least impulse, it shews by its rising where it is least pressed; and where it is most pressed by its sinking.

Now if we suppose the force of the Moon's attraction to decrease, as the square of the distance from its centre increases; we shall find that where the Moon is perpendicularly either above or below the Horizon, there the force of gravity must be most of all diminished; and that in those opposite parts the Ocean must necessarily swell, by the flowing of the water from those parts where the pressure is greatest.

If this is rightly comprehended, it follows thence that the Sea, which would otherwise be spherical, must, upon the pressure of the Moon, form itself into a spheroidal or oval figure, whose longest diameter is where the Moon is vertical, and its shortest, in the Horizon: and that by the revolution of the Earth, the Moon being in turn exposed to all sides of it, the oval of the water follows her, occasioning thereby the two floods and ebbs observable in each $24\frac{3}{4}$ hours.

On this theory, the tides ought to be highest, directly under and opposite to the Moon; but we find that in open Seas where the water flows freely, the Moon is generally past the Meridian when it is high water there. The reason is obvious; the motion of ascent communicated to the water, makes it continue to rise for some time after the attraction of the Moon declines.

Thus much for the general cause of tides; which is greatly corroborated by shewing how naturally it accounts for particular circumstances relating to them.

The spring-tides upon the new and full Moons, and the neap-tides on the others, are occasioned by the attractive force of the Sun, conspiring with the Moon at new and full, and producing a tide by their united forces: whereas in the quarters, the Sun raises the water when the Moon depresses it, and the contrary; so that the tides only rise by the difference of their forces.

That the influence of the Sun operates no stronger in this case, is owing to the vast distance of the Sun, and the proximity of the Moon.

It is also to be observed, that the equinoctial spring-tides in March and September, or near them, are the highest, and the neap-tides the lowest: which arises from the greater agitation of the water, when the fluid spheroid revolves about the equator, where the centrifugal force is greatest; as well as from the concurrent action of the Sun and Moon before mentioned. Whence the Sun and Moon being either conjoined or opposite in the equinoctial, produce the greatest spring-tides; and the subsequent neap-tides, being produced by the tropical Moon in the quarters, are always the least tides: whereas in

June and December the spring-tides, being made by the tropical Sun and Moon, are less vigorous, &c. the neap-tides by the equinoctial Moon, and therefore are the stronger. Hence it happens that the difference between the spring and neap-tides is much less considerable than in March and December. And the reason why the highest spring-tides happen rather before the vernal, and after the autumnal equinoxes, viz. in February and October, than exactly upon them, is, because the Sun is nearer the Earth in the winter Moons, and its effect is therefore at those times greater.

By the motion thus communicated to the Sea by the lunar influence, it would continue to ebb and flow for several times, were the Sun and Moon annihilated, or their attractive powers wholly destroyed: as we perceive in any vessel of water, which having been agitated, will continue to move for some time after the vessel has stood still; or as a pendulum, which after having been put in motion, continues to make several vibrations, until the continued action of gravity has conquered the foreign temporary impulse.

The tides rise but to small heights in open Seas, in proportion to what they do in wide mouthed rivers, which open to the Sea in the direction of the current of the tide. For in channels gradually contracting, the water is accumulated in height by the obstruction of the banks; in like manner as a gentle breeze, scarcely perceived in an open common, becomes a brisk wind in the contracted channel of a street or alley, especially if it lies in the direction of the current.

The regular course of the tides is so retarded and altered in its progress through shoals and irregular channels, and by striking against capes and head-lands,

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lands, opposing themselves in all directions; that in different parts, the tides rise at all distances of the Moon from the meridians of places. Thus, in the German ocean, the tide propagated when the Moon is three hours past the Meridian, is 12 hours in its passage to London bridge; where it does not arrive until a new tide commences in the ocean. It is owing to this fact, that when the Moon has a North declination, and we might expect the tide at London to be highest when the Moon is above the Horizon, we find it to be least; and the contrary in her southern declination.

There are no observable tides in Lakes having small or no communications with the open Sea; because when the Moon is at her greatest altitude to them, she influences every part of them alike, by reason of their limited size; and thus rendering the water equally light, there are no inequalities in its elevation. From this cause it is that confined Seas, like the Baltic and Mediterranean, have very considerable fluxes and refluxes; the inlets by which they communicate with the ocean being so small, that they cannot in so short a time receive or discharge a body of water sufficient to elevate or depress their surfaces sensibly.

Conformably to what we observe in the Sea, there is equal reason to conclude, that much higher tides are raised of air in the Atmosphere, than of water in the Sea: it has therefore been wondered at, why the mercury does not sink by the Moon lessening the gravity of the air as she passes the Meridian. But in this case it is to be considered, that where the air is rendered lighter from this cause, a greater quantity is accumulated, until the deficiency of weight be made up by the height of the column. The equilibrium being thus maintained, the barometer can suffer no alteration by the aerial tides.

This subject naturally leads us to say something of the nature and causes of wind; the effects of which are so salutary in preventing an unwholesome stagnation in the air, dissipating noxious exhalations, and dispersing putrid steams: and prove so useful to man in wafting him over the pathless deep. They thus in a wonderful manner promote an intercourse between those distant nations, which seem by the intervention of vast Seas to be cut off by nature from any communication with each other.

As the air is a fluid, its natural state is rest; which it endeavours to maintain or retrieve, by a universal equilibrium of all its parts. Whenever, therefore, this natural equipoise of the Atmosphere happens by any means to be destroyed, there necessarily ensues a motion of all the circumjacent air toward that part to restore it; and this motion or current of air is what we call Wind.

Hence with respect to that place where the equilibrium of the air is disturbed, we can conceive the wind may blow from every point of the compass at one time; so that those who live northward of it may have a North wind, those who live southward a South wind, and so of the rest; while those who live on the spot where all these winds meet and interfere; are oppressed with turbulent boisterous weather, whirlwinds, hurricanes, and tempests. For sulphureous exhalations from the South, torrents of nitre from the North, and aqueous vapours from every part, are there confused and violently huddled and blended together, and rarely fail to produce vehement commotions of every kind.

Many are the causes which produce wind by disturbing the equipoise of the Atmosphere, the most general of which are heat and cold: heat, by rarefying

ing the air, makes it lighter in some parts than in others; and cold, by condensing it, renders it heavier. Thus in all parts over the torrid zone, particularly the equatorial part, the air being rarefied by the direct incidence of the solar rays, is much lighter than other parts more northward and southward. Therefore, since those parts of the equator which are nearest the Sun, must be most rarefied; which parts, by the earth's diurnal rotation eastward, are continually shifting to the westward; it follows, that the parts of the air which lie to the westward of the point of the greatest rarefaction, and by flowing toward it meet it, have less motion than the air of the eastern side of the said point, which follows it. The excess of motion in the eastern air, would generate a continual easterly wind, were this all the effect of that rarefaction. But it is also to be considered, that as all the equatorial parts of the Atmosphere are greatly rarefied, by the Sun being vertical over it twice a year, and never being more than $23\frac{1}{2}$ degrees distant on either side; and the air about the polar regions greatly condensed by the extreme cold; this heavier air from each pole, is constantly flowing toward the equator, to restore the balance destroyed by the levity of the air there: hence in this respect alone, a constant North and South wind would be generated.

This motion compounded with the former easterly wind, accounts for all the phænomena of the general trade winds; which, if the whole surface of the globe was sea, would undoubtedly blow quite round the world, as they are found to do in part, in the Atlantic and Ethiopic oceans. But (as in the case of the sea tides before mentioned, where such great continents interpose, and interrupt the continuity of the ocean; so in this case) such chains of high mountains intervene, as occasion great variation in the currents of wind from the general rule. For, if a country lying near

the Sun, prove to be flat, sandy, and low land, as the deserts of Lybia are described to be; the reflection of the Sun-beams, and the retention thereof in the sand, are incredible; and the air in such place will be exceedingly rarefied: the more cool and dense air, will therefore rush in to restore the equilibrium. This is conjectured to be the cause why near the coast of Guinea, the wind always sets in upon the land, blowing westerly instead of easterly; there being sufficient reason to believe, that the inland parts of Africa are prodigiously hot; since the northern borders thereof were so very intemperate, as to make the antients conclude, that all beyond the tropics was uninhabitable by excess of heat.

It is also from this cause, that there are such constant calms, in that part of the same Ocean called the Rains: for this track being situated in the middle, between the westerly winds blowing on the coast of Guinea, and the easterly trade-winds blowing to the westward thereof; the tendency of the air here, is indifferent to either, and so remains stagnant between both. And the weight of the incumbent atmosphere being diminished by the contrary winds blowing from hence, is the reason that the air does not hold the copious vapour it receives, but lets it fall in such frequent rains.

But as the cold dense air by its superior weight, presses through the hot and rarefied; it is evident this latter must ascend in a continued stream, as fast as it rarefies; and that being ascended, it must flow from the parts where the greatest heat is, and disperse itself by a contrary current, to preserve the equipoise. So that by a kind of circulation, the North-east trade-wind below, will be attended with a South-westerly wind above; and the South-east below, with a North-west above.

This

This is proved to be more than mere conjecture by the sudden change of the wind to the opposite point, which is often found in passing the limits of the trade-winds. But that which above all establishes this hypothesis, is the phænomenon of the Monsoons, which though easily accounted for from the above principles, hardly admits of explication by any other mode of reasoning.

Such a circulation of air then, being admitted, it is to be considered that to the northward of the Indian Ocean, it is every where Land within the latitude of 30° : viz. Arabia, Persia, India, &c. which, from the same cause, are subject to unsufferable heats, as well as the interior parts of Africa, when the Sun is to the North and nearly vertical: but are temperate enough when the Sun is removed to the southern Tropic, from a ridge of mountains at some distance within Land, said to be frequently covered with snow in winter; by which the air must be greatly chilled in its passage. Thus it comes to pass that the wind from the North-east, is sometimes hotter and sometimes colder, than that which by this circulation is returned from the South-west; and of course, the under current of wind is sometimes from the North-east, and at other times from the South-west.

The times when these winds set in, sufficiently indicate the causes of them; this is in April: when the Sun begins to warm these northern climes, the South-west Monsoons begin, and blow during the heats until October; when the Sun being retired, and the countries northward growing cooler, while the heat increases to the South, the North-east winds commence and blow all the winter until April again. And from the same principle it must be, that to the southward of the Equator, in part of the Indian Ocean, the North-west winds succeed to the South-east, when the Sun approaches the tropic of Capricorn.

We might now proceed to give the present received hypotheses accounting for several other phenomena; as rain, lightning, the aurora borealis, and other meteors; the properties of magnetism, the causes of earthquakes; with many other particulars equally curious: but these being rather subjects of natural history and philosophy, would occupy too much of our room, and would be digressing farther than is necessary in an Introduction to a Collection of Voyages and Travels. It is hoped, what has already been enlarged upon concerning winds and tides, will not need an apology; as these phenomena have too general an influence over the marine and commercial transactions of mankind, and are too curious subjects of speculation in themselves, to escape notice in a review of the constitution of the Earth.

Leaving the scientific less known divisions of the Earth; we shall now, in a comparative view, consider the several parts of it, under their more generally known denominations of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America.

EUROPE is bounded on the North by the Frozen Ocean, on the East by Asia, and the rivers Don, Wolga, and Oby, on the South by the Mediterranean, and on the West by the great Atlantic Ocean; being about 3000 miles in length, and 2500 in breadth. It is the least quarter, but the most considerable for the temperature of the air; the fruitfulness of the soil; and the cultivation of the arts and sciences; but above all, for the profession of the Christian religion. It contains the following kingdoms and states.

EUROPE.

	Kingdoms.	Length.	Breadth.	Chief City.	Dist. & Bearing from London.	Diff. of Time from London.	Religions.
British Empire.	England	360	300	London	Miles. * * *	H. M. * * *	Lutherans
	Scotland	300	150	Edinburgh	270 N.	0 12 aft.	Calvinists
	Ireland	300	150	Dublin	250 NW	0 26 aft.	Lutherans
	Norway	1000	300	Bergen	540 N.	0 24 bef.	Lutherans
	Denmark	240	180	Copenhagen	480 NE	0 50 bef.	Lutherans
	Sweden	800	500	Stockholm	750 NE	1 10 bef.	Lutherans
	Russia	500	1100	Petersburg	1140 NE	2 4 bef.	Gr. Church
	Poland	700	680	Warsaw	760 E.	1 24 bef.	Papists
	Prussia	400	160	Berlin	540 E.	0 59 bef.	Lutherans
	Germany	600	500	Vienna	650 E.	1 5 bef.	Papists
Nether-lands.	Holland	160	100	Amsterdam	150 E.	0 18 bef.	Calvin. with a gen. toleration.
	Flanders	180	150	Brussels	180 S. E.	0 16 bef.	Papists
	France	600	500	Paris	160 S. E.	0 9 bef.	Papists
	Spain	700	500	Madrid	690 S.	0 17 aft.	Papists
	Portugal	300	100	Lisbon	840 S W	0 38 aft.	apists
	Switzerland	260	100	Bern	420 S. E.	0 28 bef.	alv & Pan
Italy.	Lombardy	Several small States; Piedmont, Montserrat, Milan, Parma, Modena, Mantua, Venice, Genoa, Tuscany, &c. Chief Towns are, Turin, Casal, Milan, Parma, Modena, Mantua, Venice, Genoa, Florence.					
	Papedom	240	150	Rome	780 S. E.	0 52 bef.	Papists
	Naples	270	180	Naples	870 S. E.	1 0 bef.	Papists
	Hungary	300	200	Buda	780 S. E.	1 17 bef.	Papists
Turkey in Europe.	Danubian } Provinces }	600	420	Constantinople.	1320 S. E.	1 58 bef.	Mahometans with some
	Lit. Tartary	380	240	Caffa	1500 E.	2 24 bef.	Jews and
	Greece	400	240	Athens	1320 S. E.	1 37 bef.	Christians.

The

The Europeans in general are well made, and tolerably fair, except in Spain, where they begin to be swarthy. In dress, they are fond of imitating the French. The Turks wear their beards, turbants, and a long vest tied with a sash. The Turkish ladies dress much resembles that of the men.

The islands of this quarter are, in the North,—Greenland, famous for its whale fishery.—And Iceland, in which is the burning mountain Hecla, supposed, by its frequent eruptions, to be the cause of the northern lights; it belongs, with the little isles of Farro, together with those of Zealand and Funen, &c. in the Baltic, to the crown of Denmark.—Near Great Britain, are the Shetland isles, the Western isles, Orkneys, Man, Anglesea, Scilly, Wight, Jersey, Guernsey, subject to the English.—On the West, are the Azores, nine in number, the chief, St. Michael; St. Maria, Tercera, and Graciosa; which trade in wine and sugar; and all belong to the king of Portugal.—In the Mediterranean Sea are Yvica, Majorca, belonging to Spain.—Minorca to England; and Corsica struggling for independency.—Sardinia, a kingdom of itself.—Sicily belonging to the king of Naples, in which is the burning mountain Etna.—Malta belonging to its own governor, called the Grand Master.—Corfu, Cephalonia, and Zant, subject to the Venetians.—Cyprus, Candia, Rhodes, Patmos, and the cluster of small ones in the Archipelago, belonging to the Turks.

The principal mountains in this part of the world are the Dolphrino Hills, between Sweden and Norway;—the Hyperboræan Mountains in the north part of Muscovy;—the Caparthian mountains in the south part of Poland;—the Pyrenean hills between Spain and France;—the Alps between Italy and Germany;—the Appenine hills dividing Italy into East and West; Vesuvius, a remarkable burning mountain

mountain near Naples;—the Peak in England;—Plinlimmon in Wales;—and Grampian and Cheviot hills in Scotland.

In this quarter, the most noted rivers are, the Thames, Severn, and Humber, in England;—Forth, Tay, and Tweed, in Scotland;—Shannon, Boyn, and Barrow, in Ireland;—Rhine, Elbe, and Oder, in Germany;—Weisel, Neefer, and Neeper, in Poland;—Tayo and Duero in Portugal;—the Ebro and Guadalquiver in Spain;—Tiber and Po in Italy;—Don, Wolga, and Dwina, in Russia;—Seine, Loire, Rhone, and Garonne, in France; and the Danube, which runs all through Germany, Hungary, Turkey in Europe, and empties itself into the Black Sea.

ASIA lies east of Europe, is about 4800 miles long, and 4300 broad, bounded on the North by the Frozen Ocean, by the Pacific on the East, by the Red Sea on the West, and the Indian Ocean on the South. In this quarter stood the temple of Diana, at Ephesus in Natolia, burnt the night Alexander the Great was born. Near to that stood the famous city Troy, totally destroyed by the Greeks, 1200 years before Christ. Here also stood the seven churches mentioned by St. John in the Revelations.—Also Tyre and Sydon, on the coast of the Holy Land, once vast cities of trade, but now the habitation of a few fishermen.—Likewise Sodom and Gomorrah, large cities recorded to have been destroyed by fire from heaven for their wickedness.—Also Nineveh and Babylon, great cities in Mesopotamia, near Bagdad, now the habitation of only wild creatures. In the Holy Land stood the famous city and temple of Jerusalem, destroyed by Vespasian about 70 years after Christ. This was the theatre of almost every action recorded in the sacred Scriptures. It is divided into many principal regions, whose names, extent, chief cities, &c. are as in the following table.

INTRODUCTION.

ASIA.

Nations.	Length.	Breadth.	Chief City.	Dist. & Bearing from London.	Diff. of Time from London.	Religions.
Ruffian	The Bounds of these Parts are unlimited, each Power pushing on his Conquests as far as he can.		Bobolkoï	2160 N. E.	4 10 bef.	Christians & Pagans
Chinese			Chynian	4480 N. E.	8 4 bef.	Pagans
Mogulcan			Tibet	3780 E.	5 40 bef.	Pagans
Independant			Samerchand	2800 E.	4 36 bef.	Pagans
China	1440	1000	Pekin	4320 N. E.	7 24 bef.	Pagans
Moguls	2000	1500	Dehli	3720 E.	5 16 bef.	Mahomet & Pagans
India	2000	1000	Siam or Pegu	5040 E.	6 44 bef.	Pagans
Persia	1600	1200	Upahan	2460 E.	3 20 bef.	Mahometans
Arabia	1300	1200	Meccha	2640 S. E.	2 52 bef.	Mahometans
Syria	270	160	Aleppo	1860 E.	2 30 bef.	Christ. & Mahomet.
Holy Land	210	90	Jerusalem	1920 S. E.	2 24 bef.	Christ. & Mahomet
Natolia	750	308	Burla or Smyrna	1440 S. E.	1 48 bef.	Mahometans
Diarbeck, or Mesopotamia	560	310	Bagdad	2160 E.	2 56 bef.	Mahometans, with some few Christians.
Turcomania	360	300	Erzerum	1860 E.	2 44 bef.	
Georgia	***	***	Teflis	1920 E.	3 10 bef.	

Tartary.

Turkey in Asia.

The Turks, Persians, Moguls, and Chinese, are of good shape and complexion: The men wear turbans, vests, and slippers; the women dress much like the men, only they wear a stiffened cap like a mitre, and their hair down. The Mogul ladies are fond of bracelets on their arms and legs; rings on their fingers and toes; jewels in their noses; and pendants in their ears: and the Chinese ladies are remarkable for their little feet; and the gentlemen for long nails. In Siam, Pegu, &c. the inhabitants are tawney, and features coarse. The men wear a piece of cloth wrapped round their waist, and pull their beards (as the Chinese and Tartars do) up by the root. The women have, beside the piece about their waist, another thrown round their breasts and shoulders, leaving the rest of the body bare. The common people near the sea go almost naked.

The islands in Asia are those of Japan, as Japan itself, Tonfa and Bongo,—also Formosa,—the Bashee isles, very small—Aynan and Macco.—The Ladrone isles, the chief Guam and Tinian.—The Philippine isles 11,000 in number, chiefly small ones; the principal are Luconia, Mindanao, and Tendaye.—The Moluccas or Clove islands, the chief Gilolo, Ceram, Macassar, Amboyna, and Banda, where the nutmegs grow.—The Sunda isles, Borneo, Java, and Sumatra, &c.—The Andaman and Nicobar isles, all small. The Maldives, many thousands very small, in the Indian Sea—and Ceylon, or fine Cinnamon isle, near the coast of Coromandel.

Most of these islands lying near or under the Line, afford great quantities of sugar and spice, which the Dutch trade with to all parts of the world.

The principal rivers in this quarter are the Tygris, and Euphrates, between Arabia and Persia.—Tobol and Oby in Tartary.—Indus in the Mogul's empire.
Ganger

—Ganges in India,—the Hoambo or Yellow river in the North; and the river Tay, that runs by Canton, in the South of China.

The chief mountains here are, Ararat, near the Caspian Sea, on which the ark is recorded to have rested after the flood.—Horeb and Sinai in Arabia.—Lebanon in the Holy Land.—Mount Taurus running from East to West of all Asia.—Imaus, in Tartary,—Caucassus between Tartary and the Great Mogul's empire;—and the Naugracut mountains in Tibet.

AFRICA is the third quarter, situated to the South of Europe, and surrounded on all sides by the Sea, except a narrow neck of land about 60 miles over (called the Isthmus of Suez) which joins it to Asia, at the top of the Red Sea. This country is about 4300 miles long, and 4200 broad, and lies chiefly in the Torrid Zone; the Equator running through the middle of it. Here we find a race of people quite black, having flat noses, thick lips, and hair like wool. This quarter is generally divided as in the following table.

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AFRICA.

	Nations.	Length.	Breadth.	Chief City.	Diff. & Bearing from London.	Diff. of Time from London.	Religions.
Barbary.	Morocco	500	480	Fez	1080 S.	0 24 aft.	Mahometans
	Algiers	600	400	Algiers	920 S.	0 13 bef.	Mahometans
	Tunis	400	250	Tunis	990 S. E.	0 39 bef.	Mahometans
	Tripoli	700	240	Tripoli	1260 S. E.	0 56 bef.	Mahometans
	Barca	400	300	Tolemeta	1440 S. E.	1 26 bef.	Mahometans
	Egypt	600	250	Grand Cairo	1920 S. E.	2 12 bef.	Mahometans
	Biledulgerid	2500	350	Dara	1505 S.	0 32 aft.	Pagans
	Zaara	2400	660	Tegessa	1840 S.	0 24 aft.	Pagans
	Negroland	2200	840	Madinga	2500 S.	0 38 aft.	Pagans
	Guinea	1800	360	Benin	2700 S.	0 20 bef.	Pagans
Up. Ethiopia.	Nubia	940	600	Nubia	2418 S. E.	2 12 bef.	Mah. & Pag.
	Abyssinia	900	800	Gondar	2880 S. E.	2 20 bef.	Christians
	Abex	540	130	Doncala	3580 S. E.	2 36 bef.	Chris. & Pag.
The Middle Parts, called Lower Ethiopia, are very little known to the Europeans.							
Lower Guinea.	Loango	410	300	Loango	3300 S.	0 44 bef.	Chris. & Pag.
	Congo	540	420	St. Salvador	3480 S.	1 0 bef.	Chris. & Pag.
	Angola	360	250	Loando	3750 S.	0 58 bef.	Chris. & Pag.
	Benguela	430	180	Benguela	3900 S.	0 58 bef.	Pagans
	Mataman	450	240	No Towns	* * *	* * *	Pagans
	Ajan	900	300	Brava	3702 S. E.	2 40 bef.	Pagans
	Zanguebar	1400	350	Melinda or Mozambique	4440 S. E.	2 38 bef.	Pagans
	Monomotapa	960	660	Monomotapa	4500 S.	1 18 bef.	Pagans
	Monemugi	900	660	Chicova	4260 S.	1 44 bef.	Pagans
	Sofola	480	300	Sofola	4600 S. E.	2 18 bef.	Pagans
	TerradeNat.	600	350	No Towns	* * *	* * *	Pagans
	Caffaria or Hottentots	780	660	Cape of good Hope	5200 S.	1 4 bef.	Pagans

Along

Along the coasts of the Mediterranean, in Egypt, Biledulgerid, and Zaara, the people are of a tawney complexion, and dress like the Turks: but in all other parts of this quarter, the inhabitants are black. The better sort of negroes wear thin vests and white caps, but the poor go almost naked, having only a small piece of skin, or coarse stuff, wrapped about their waist. The poor Hottentots, daubed over with grease and foot, and having their arms, legs, and neck wrapped round with the raw guts of beasts, make a most despicable and nasty appearance.

The islands of this quarter are, Madagascar the largest; the inhabitants black, wild, savage, naked, and under no particular governor. The islands of Cape Verde, 10 in number. St. Vincent, St. Nicholas, Lucia, Antonia, Sal, Bonavista, Jago, Mayo, Bravo, and Fuego, all subject to the Portuguese. — The Canary islands, 14 in number, the chief, Teneriff, Ferro, and Canary, belonging to the crown of Spain. — The Madeira, noted for excellent wine, subject to the Portuguese. — The Guinea isles, as Princes, Po, Annobon, Thomas, Matthew, &c. belonging to the Portuguese. And the isles Ascension and St. Helena belonging to the English.

The principal mountains here are, the Lybian mountain, between Zaara and Egypt; — Mount Atlas, between Barbary and Biledulgerid, which gives name to the neighbouring ocean, called the Atlantic Ocean. — The mountains of the Moon in Ethiopia, near the empire of Monemugi. — And the Pico or Peak, in Teneriff, one of the Canary isles, in form of a sugar loaf, supposed to be the highest in the world, and may be seen 40 leagues distant.

The most noted rivers here, are the Nile in Nubia and Egypt: — The Niger running through all Negroland: — The Gambia and Senegal, on which

the English and French have some settlements, are only branches of the Niger.

AMERICA is the last quarter of the world : it lies about 2300 miles west of England, and is of vast extent. Bounded on the North by unknown parts, by the Atlantic Ocean on the East, by the great South Sea on the South and West. It is 8 or 9 thousand miles in length, and about 3 thousand in breadth. It was discovered first by Christopher Columbus, as will appear anon. It is often called the West Indies in contradistinction to the farther parts of Asia, stiled the East Indies, discovered by the Portuguese a little before. It is divided into two capital parts, of vast extent each, distinguished into North America, and South America; which are connected by a narrow neck of land, called the Isthmus of Darien, or of Panama, which in some places is not more than 60 miles over.

NORTH AMERICA is divided into these following Parts.

Nations.	Length.	Breadth.	Chief City.	Dist. and Bearing from London.	Diff. of Time from London.	Belongs to
Mexico or New Spain	2000	600	Mexico.	4900 N. W.	6 50 aft.	Spain
Granada, or New Mexico	Bounds undetermined.		St. Fee.	4320 N. W.	7 0 aft.	Spain
California	Bounds undetermined.		St. Juan.			Spain
Florida	480	360 ^{to}	St. Augustine	3690 W.	5 24 aft.	England
Canada	1800	1260	Quebec	2760 N. W.	4 56 aft.	England
Louisiana	1400	1000	Fort Louis	4080 N. W.	6 4 aft.	France and Spain
British Colonies	1383	300	Boston	2760 W.	4 40 aft.	England

The

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The British colonies or plantations are, 1. Nova-Scotia, the chief town Halifax.—2. New England, the chief town Boston.—3. New York, the chief town New York.—4. New Jersey, the chief town Elizabeth Town.—5. Pensilvania, the chief town Philadelphia.—6. Maryland, the chief town Baltimore.—7. Virginia, the chief town James Town.—8. Carolina, the chief town Charles Town.—And 9. Georgia, whose chief town is the Savannah.

The Indians here are generally of a brown complexion; the few that are white stain themselves of a copper or red colour, and some with streaks of blue. They are dexterous with their bows and arrows; and very fond of adorning themselves with strings of beads and shells about their necks, with rings and plates in their ears and noses, and pull their beards up by the roots. They go naked in the summer, but in the winter cover themselves with the skins of beasts taken in hunting, which is their chief employ.

The principal islands are, Newfoundland, belonging to the English, famous for its fishery.—Bermudas or Summer Isles, the property of Great Britain.—Cape Breton, Anticosti, and St. John's, belonging to the English.—The Bahama Isles, (many in number, but Providence only inhabited) belonging to the English.—The Antilles, as Cuba, Hispaniola, and Porto Rico, belonging to Spain, and Jamaica to the English.—The Carribbe Isles, the chief St. Christophers, Anguila, Antigua, Barbadoes, and the Grenades, belong to the English.—St. Martin, Bartholomew, Guadalupe, Marigalante, Martinico, belonging to the French.—Eustatia and Saba, belonging to the Dutch,—and St. Thomas to the Danes.—These islands produce vast quantities of

E 2

sugar

sugar (in planting of which thousands of negroes are employed) tobacco, pepper, yams, indigo, ginger, gums, dying-woods, cocoa, cotton, parrots, fish, turtles, and lignum vitæ.

The chief mountains here are, the Apalachean, between Carolina and Louisiana. But in the North are vast unknown mountains perpetually covered with snow, from whence the winds blowing the greatest part of the year, these countries become much colder than those in Europe in the same latitude.

The most remarkable rivers are, St. Laurence, dividing the English plantations from Canada, and falling into the gulph of its own name.—The Mississippi, and the Ohio, in Louisiana,—and the river North in New Mexico, which last empty themselves into the Gulf of Mexico.

In SOUTH AMERICA are the following Nations:

Nations.	Length	Breadth	Chief City	Dist. and Bearing from London	Diff. of Time from London	Belongs to
Terra Firma	1400	700	Panama	4650 W.	5 28 aft.	Spain
Peru	2000	600	Lima	5520 S. W.	5 4 aft.	Spain
Amazonia a very large Country, but little known to the Europeans. 1200 L. 960 B.						
Guiana	780	480	{ Surinam Cayenne	3840 S. W.	3 44 aft.	Dutch and French
Brazil	2000	700	St. Salvador	6000 S. W.	3 44 aft.	Portugal
Paraguay	1500	1100	Assumption	5640 S. W.	3 52 aft.	Spain and the Jesuits
Chili	1200	600	St. Jago	6600 S. W.	5 6 aft.	Spain
Terra Magellanica, or Patagonia	} The Spaniards took possession of it, but did not think it worth while to settle there.					

The Indians are generally of a good size, and well made: down to the tropic of Capricorn they are of a brown or copper complexion, but farther south tolerably fair. They have little idea of religion. They have many odd customs; go for the most part naked, but paint themselves of various colours; many of them wear large rings in their ears, chains of shells about their necks, and glittering stones or plates on their lip and noses, permitting no hair to grow upon their chins. They use bows and arrows, stroll about and live by fishing and hunting, as they do in the northern parts.

The islands here are St. Catherines and Trinidad, off the coast of Brasil.—Chiloe and Juan Fernandes, near Chili,—and the large island Terra Del Fuego, (so called on account of its volcanoes or burning mountains) at the South of Magellanica; these all belong to Spain.—There are many more islands scattered about the Great South-Sea, but all uninhabited, and of no great account.

The chief mountains are, St. Martha in Terra Firma:—the Andes, which are said to be the highest in the world: their tops are always covered with snow; and the cold so intense, that numbers have perished in going over them; and others have lost their fingers and toes, and been lamed for ever. No beast of any kind is found upon them. They run through the whole length of South America.

The most remarkable rivers are, Oronoko, where the South Sea trade begins;—the vast river Amazon in Amazonia, and Rio de la Plata, or the river Plate, in Paraguay.

Of the less-known Parts of the World.

IN the North, near the Pole, are,—Nova Zembla—Greenland and Groenland. The inhabitants are very few, and these savage; low in stature, and of an ugly mien. They live upon the flesh of whales, bears, foxes, rein-deer, and go muffled up in skins, the hairy side next their bodies. The Sun does not appear in these parts for three or four months together in the winter, and then the cold is sometimes so intense as to freeze brandy. And in the summer, he shines as many months continually upon them, which makes the heat as troublesome. Here also lie—New Britain—New North Wales—New Denmark, &c. in America—and Yesso, and Kamtschatka, in Asia, all very little known.

Below the Molucca isles in Asia—are New Guinea—Carpentaria—New Holland—Dieman's Land—and a little further, New Zealand, regions discovered by the Dutch and English about the middle of last century. Our knowledge of them is very imperfect; the natives are said to be wild, savage, black, and go naked.

It is generally believed that there are many large tracts of land towards the South Pole, of which at present we know nothing.

The Difference of the Miles in several Countries is very great; but it will be useful to remember, That

The English, Italian, and Turkish, are nearly the same.

The Scotch and Irish Miles are about $1\frac{1}{2}$ English.

The German, Danish, Dutch, and Polish, are about 4 English.

The Swedish is about 5 English.

The Spanish is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ English.

The Hungarian is about 6 English.

The Russian is about $\frac{3}{4}$ English.

The Persian, Arabian, and Egyptian, are about 3 English.

The Indian is almost 3 English.

The Japan is about half a quarter of an English mile.

The French league is 2 of our miles.

The English league is 3 of our miles.

As a conclusion we will only add a few explanations ; which, though the generality of our readers cannot be supposed to need, this Introduction might perhaps by some be thought deficient, if they were omitted.

The Earth being a globe, a Map of the whole Earth must necessarily consist of two parts ; one half only being visible to one view of it : this Map exhibits therefore two hemispheres ; as if the globe had been divided in the plane of the first meridian. Accordingly in an universal Map, the right hand circle shews the old world, containing Europe, Asia and Africa ; and the left hand circle contains the new world, or North and South America. Upon this Map are marked the circles corresponding to those on the Sphere ; namely the Equinoctial Line, the two Tropics, and the two Polar Circles ; all which cross the Map from East to West. Parallels of Latitude, and Meridians, are drawn over the face of the Map at 10 degrees distance, to ascertain the relative situation of places.

Particular Maps, as being part of this general Map, retain the Meridians and Parallels of Latitude belonging to the respective places, drawn larger or smaller as the size of the paper and scale will admit ;

mit; and such Maps are drawn and proportioned to scales corresponding to their degrees of latitude.

It is to be noted, that in all Maps, the North is at the top, the South at the bottom, the East on the right hand, and the West on the left: or if it should be otherwise, it is always expressed in words at the sides; or by a mariner's compass, in which the fleur de lys always points to the North.

Degrees of Latitude are marked on the East and West sides of the Map; Degrees of Longitude on the North and South sides, that is, on the top and bottom; to which the Parallels of Latitude, and Meridians or Circles of Longitude, which cross each other over the face of the Map, correspond.

The thick shadowed lines in Maps denote Sea coasts; the courses of rivers are shewed by thick serpentine lines, and roads, by small double lines. Divisions of countries are distinguished by large dotted lines; and subdivisions into provinces, by smaller: forests are denoted by trees; mountains by shadowed eminences; sand banks, by dotted beds; marshes by shadowed beds; and lakes by inland shadowed coasts, like the common Sea coasts.

More minute particulars are expressed at the pleasure of the Geographer, who generally gives an explanation of arbitrary signs and marks, at some vacant corner of the Map.

Explanation of nominal Terms, used in Geography.

A *Continent*, is a large extent of country, the connexion of which is not broken by the interposition of seas. The known world is usually divided into two grand Continents; the one comprehending Europe,

rope, Asia, and Africa ; and the other including the two Americas, North and South.

An *Island*, is a track of land encompassed with water, which cuts it off from any communication with the main land. Such are Great Britain, Ireland, Minorca, Madagascar, Borneo, and an infinity of others.

An *Archipelago*, denotes a cluster of small islands ; but is more peculiarly appropriated to a number of islands in the Egean Sea, between the coasts of Greece and Asia.

A *Peninsula* (*quasi pene insula*, or almost an island) or *Chersonesus*, (from the Greek of the same import) is a part of dry land almost surrounded by water ; but connected to the main land, by a narrow neck of land. Such is the Morea in Greece.

An *Isthmus*, is a narrow neck of land, connecting a peninsula to the continent : as that of Darien, which preserves the communication, by land, between North and South America ; and that of Corinth, which joins the Morea to the rest of Greece.

A *Promontory*, is a high point of land stretching out into the Sea ; the extremity of which is usually called a *Cape*.

A *Volcano* is a burning mountain, a vent to subterranean fires, which makes occasional eruptions of fire, calcined minerals, and boiling over with sulphureous torrents. Such are Mounts *Ætna* in Sicily, *Vesuvius* near Naples, *Hecla* in Iceland, &c.

The *Ocean* is a collective name for that vast Sea which encompasses the whole Earth, and which obtains different names in different parts ; as the
Northern

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Northern Ocean, the Atlantic Ocean, the Pacific Ocean, &c.

Some parts of the Ocean run up into the land, either through narrow channels, or wide mouths; the former are denominated *Seas*; as the Baltic Sea, the Mediterranean Sea, &c. the latter are called *Gulphs*; as the gulph of Bothnia, the Gulph of Finland, the Gulph of Venice, &c.

A *Bay* is an arm or bason of Sea, entering somewhat within land; a kind of lesser gulph. The largest and most noted Bays in the world, are those of Bengal, Panama, Biscay, with many others.

A *Strait* is a narrow arm or channel communicating between two seas; or a passage between two islands, or lands. Such are the Straits of Gibraltar, of Magellan, the Hellespont, &c.

A *Harbour* is generally used for the bottom of a bay, or the mouth of a large river, sheltered from winds, and frequently secured with a mole, and booms, where ships may lie securely at anchor.

A *Road* denotes a convenient place for anchorage, at some distance from shore, where vessels usually wait for winds to carry them out to sea, or for tides to carry them into harbour.

the first of these, the *Journal of the Proceedings of the*
General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1844

the second of these, the *Journal of the Proceedings of the*
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 the third of these, the *Journal of the Proceedings of the*
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 the fourth of these, the *Journal of the Proceedings of the*
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General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1868
 the twenty-sixth of these, the *Journal of the Proceedings of the*
General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1869
 the twenty-seventh of these, the *Journal of the Proceedings of the*
General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1870

A
COLLECTION
OF
VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

The FIRST VOYAGE of
CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

HOWEVER mankind differ in manners and modes of thinking, when distant ages and nations remote from each other, are compared together; the inventors of useful arts, and the discoverers of unknown countries, have seldom failed of receiving that tribute of honour which is due to distinguished abilities. The name of Bacchus was first celebrated, and has been delivered down to us as a deity, on account of his Indian expeditions; and because he penetrated farther than any man was ever known to have done before. The Egyptians, who were with reason esteemed the wisest people of antiquity, since almost all the sciences travelled into this part of the world from thence, paid the highest tribute of praise to such of their monarchs as were supposed to have conquered the East; and to have extended their empire over countries where, before that time, no victorious armies had ever come. It was for the same cause that the Tyrian Hercules was so much magnified by his countrymen; and it was the glory which those heroes had acquired, that prompted

prompted Alexander, the most ambitious and daring of the Greeks, to undertake his famous expedition against the Indians, that he might not fall short of any whose names were recorded in history. This vanity of his transported him to such a degree, that though, after the ruin of the Persian empire, he esteemed himself the first of men; yet, on his framing the project of invading India, he expected to be esteemed somewhat more than man. In succeeding times, we find this humour far from being worn out, since even the Romans, who, if not a wiser, were most certainly a more moderate people than the Greeks, regarded the invasion of Britain by Julius Cæsar, as the most glorious of his actions, and that which redounded most to the honour of their empire.

Upon the same principle the famous emperor Trajan was so extremely desirous of emulating the example of Alexander, and carrying the terror of the Roman arms into countries which their ancestors never knew. But, the notion of pushing conquests in this manner, however it may dazzle the eyes of the admiring multitude, carries in it nothing so truly noble as the project of discovering countries far removed from other parts of the world by vast tracks of sea; and rendering them mutually useful by their respective productions: and though in pursuing this train of reflexions with reference to the discovery of America, it is impossible not to be checked on recollecting the horrid pious butcheries acted by the avaritious Spaniards among innocent nations cursed with the arrival of such infernal missionaries; yet it is hoped the extension of commerce, manufactures, and knowledge of every kind, among the colonists and natives of the northern parts of that vast continent, and that glorious spirit of freedom which breathes in the provincial assemblies, and promises a growth of strength and prosperity, the utmost extension of which it is impossible to foresee: is hoped this British contrast to Spanish mis-

taken policy, may, in its consequences, dispose the future generations of mankind, for the credit of humanity, to forget the miseries suffered by the past. But to return from this almost unavoidable digression.

The antients were under an absolute incapacity of making great discoveries by sea for many reasons, but particularly because they had no just notion of the figure of the earth: they were very indifferent astronomers, especially with regard to the practical part of that science; and were able to make no voyages of consequence for want of knowing the wonderful directive property of the loadstone.

But the great imperfection of the antient navigation was the not being able to solve that necessary problem, the finding in any place the four cardinal points, and such intermediate ones as were necessary; without doing which, it was simply impossible to sail far: they therefore durst not trust themselves into the wide ocean, but coasted only along the shores, that they might by some signs know where they were. In the day-time indeed they were able to find the North and South, or a meridian line, by the Sun's rising and setting; beside which they had three other methods. 1. By the stars at night, particularly the Little Bear, and the star in its tail, called the Pole Star, which was much famed with antiquity, and served to shew them the North, and thereby all other points. For, turning their face to it, the East was on the right, the West on the left, and the South behind; and they had a circle with the points on it; and, bringing the North and South point to the meridian line, the other points were seen at once. Another method they had was by knowing the situation of the shores, and of one promontory from another: for when one point was thus known, either from the maps, or by observation and experience, they could in sailing find the rest. But then they could not go far from the shores, which directed them as to these points; as they could

could not at all times use the sun and stars for that end. A third method they used was by observing the points they had run in; for knowing how they first directed the ship, and how much they turned again their course from that point, they knew the other points. From whence the reason appears of their imperfect and dangerous sailing; viz. their not knowing the points in the wide ocean, so as to tell how to steer. This third method, by observing the ship's course, is of no use when the ship is turned to a great many points by the violence of the winds and waves. Such were their methods of finding the meridian lines, which were so imperfect, that they durst never trust themselves in the vast ocean; it is no wonder therefore that they never knew America.

The application of the properties of magnetism to the construction of the compass had brought about considerable changes in the art of navigation, before any attempt was made to discover new countries by sailing westward; for there were great difficulties to be overcome, before any design of that sort could be accomplished. The vessels in use at those times were very unfit for long voyages, in point of form, capacity, and strength. The seamen had very little experience, were naturally inclined to coasting, and knew not enough of their art to be clearly satisfied what could, or what could not, be performed by it. Add to all this, that their skill consisted rather in practising what they had seen before, than in the knowledge of any settled principle of science, capable of directing them in any extraordinary cases that might happen in time to come. Their observations were far from being exact; partly from the meanness of their instruments, and partly from the narrowness of their notions about the use of them.

Nevertheless, many years before the voyages of Columbus, and under all the disadvantages before-mentioned, a discovery of America is supposed to have been made by some adventurers from this island;

island; if any claim can now be made to a discovery by persons who were themselves totally lost. The story however, as it is the earliest in point of time, seems to merit a relation as well as any other. It asserts that Madoc, prince of Wales, was the first discoverer of America, and the detail of his expedition runs thus. He flourished in the twelfth century, and was son of Owen Guynneth, prince of North Wales; his brethren raising a civil war about the division of his father's dominions, he chose rather to go to sea with a few of his friends, and seek out new habitations, than run the hazard of what might happen in this dispute. Accordingly, about the year 1170, steering due West, and leaving Ireland on the North, he came to an unknown country; where he settled a colony; and, returning thence into Wales, carried a second supply of people, but was never heard of more.

That the country he went to was really America, is more, perhaps, than can be proved; but that this tale was invented after the discovery of that country, on purpose to set up a prior title, is most certainly false. Meredith ap Rees, who died in 1477, and was a famous Welch poet, composed an ode in honour of this Madoc, wherein was contained an account of his discoveries. Now as this was several years before Columbus made his first voyage, we may be sure that this was really a British tradition, and no tale of late contrivance.

Others again have endeavoured to prove that it was not America, but Groenland, to which our Welch prince sailed. In proof of which they have observed that this country was well known in the ninth and tenth centuries, though it was afterward lost. But neither does this story answer that purpose; for, it is evident, the course does by no means agree with it; since, if he had sailed to that country, he could not have left Ireland to the North. In a very ingenious discourse upon this subject, it is suggested, that prince Madoc landed in some part

of Florida; that, in process of time, the colony he planted there proceeded round by land, and reached the northern parts of Mexico, which country they conquered, and were those foreign ancestors of the Mexicans, of whom we have heard so much from the Spanish writers that have recorded the adventures of Cortes. To strengthen which supposition it is asserted, that several British words have been discovered in the old Mexican language.

All this however can be little more than mere conjecture, to which there are no bounds when once indulged; but the probability of his sailing or being driven to some part of America, may nevertheless be very readily admitted: and this probability is not by any means discredited by no certain traces of them being found, on our better acquaintance with the new world. In those unlettered ages, before the invention of the compass, before the invention of printing, and before the invention of gunpowder, the Welch could scarcely be more civilized than the Americans they are supposed to have found out; and had very few advantages of any kind to boast over them. Prince Madoc can hardly be imagined to have taken any great number of men with him in those early days of navigation; and if his men incorporated with the natives, and dispersed, there is no wonder that the memory of their arrival should have worn away, where no written records subsisted: whereas if the natives destroyed them, there was a shorter period put to their memories altogether. Add to which, that it is extremely probable Madoc might be cast away in his second voyage; or not be able to steer back to his new colony. In either case both the discoverers and the discovery were altogether lost to their country.

That an event so extraordinary should not excite to any attempts either from England or Wales, toward following or finding out their hardy countrymen and their new settlement; is only to be accounted

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ed for from the rude ignorance and supine poverty of those times ; when the human mind was too contracted to find any internal stimulation toward discoveries and improvement. The small degree of learning which then existed was only to be found in cloisters among ecclesiastics ; by whom it was exercised and employed in the embarrassing distinctions, and unmeaning subtilties of the schools. They were however at last roused from their useless speculation by the discovery of the compass, which opened the way to the invention of instruments, and the calculation of tables for facilitating the methods then used in making celestial observations.

Assisted by these inventions, mankind began to adventure the crossing unknown seas ; and the success of their first voyages encouraged them to attempt farther discoveries. The Portuguese coasted along great part of Africa, and took the island of Madeira, with those of Cape de Verde.

But these attempts were only preludes to the scheme of Christopher Columbus, a native of Genoa, who undertook to extend the boundaries which ignorance had given to the world. The just idea that this great man had formed of the figure of the earth gave birth to his design ; but the maps, more erroneous than his conjecture, made him mistake the object. He proposed to find a passage to China and India, by crossing the Western Ocean. Venice and Genoa were then almost the only trading powers in Europe ; and they had no other support of their power but their commerce : this occasioned a rivalry, a jealousy, and divers wars between them ; but Venice was in trade far superior : she had drawn to herself almost the whole commerce of India, always one of the most valuable in the world, and then carried on only by way of Egypt and the Red-sea. An emulation of this kind might probably put Columbus on finding another and more direct passage to the East Indies, and by that means, of transferring

ring this profitable trade to his own country. But neither what he sought, nor what he found, were destined for Genoa; he however performed the duty of a good citizen, and made his first proposal at home, where it was rejected. Discharged of this obligation, he applied to the court of France, and meeting with no better success there, he sent his brother Bartholomew to Henry the Seventh, who then filled the throne of England; but Bartholomew being taken and plundered by pirates in his passage, was, on his arrival at London, reduced to such extreme poverty, as rendered him unable to gain an audience of his Majesty, till by drawing and selling charts, he acquired some reputation, and put himself into such an equipage as was necessary for his obtaining access to the king. This honour he obtained in the year 1488, when he met with all the success that could be desired, and actually entered into an agreement with Henry VII. on behalf of his brother, several years before Christopher closed with their Catholic Majesties.

In the mean time, Christopher applied in person to the court of Portugal, where his offers were rejected, and he himself insulted and ridiculed; but he found in these insults and this ridicule, a new incitement to pursue his scheme, urged forward by the stings of anger and resentment.

He now repaired to Castile, and offered his service to Ferdinand and Isabella, where he exercised his interest and his patience for eight years. There is a sort of enthusiasm in all projectors absolutely necessary for the accomplishment of their schemes, which renders them proof against the most fatiguing delays, the most shocking insults, and, what is severer than all, the presumptuous judgment passed by the ignorant on their designs. Columbus had a sufficient share of this quality; but his patience was at last quite exhausted, and he had actually taken his leave of Ferdinand and Isabella, in order to proceed

ceed for England in quest of his brother, of whose fate he remained entirely ignorant. He was however unexpectedly recalled by the queen of Castile, at the earnest persuasion of Lewis de Saint Angelo her confessor, who prevailed upon her to comply with the demands of Columbus, and even lent her money to promote the expedition.

Christopher was immediately appointed admiral on the ocean, to enjoy all the appointments, prerogatives, and privileges annexed to the flags of Castile and Leon in their respective seas. It was also agreed, that all civil employments in the islands and continent to be discovered should be wholly at his disposal; that all governments should be given to one of those persons he should name; that he should appoint judges in Spain for Indian affairs; that over and above the salary and perquisites of admiral, viceroy, and governor, he should have the tenth of all that was bought, bartered, found, or acquired within the limits of his admiralship, after the charge of the conquest should be defrayed; together with an eighth part of all that he should bring home in his fleet; in consideration of which, he should be at one eighth part of the expence.

As soon as these preliminaries were adjusted, and his commission and grants confirmed by their Catholic Majesties, he repaired to Palos, in order to forward his equipment, which consisted of three small vessels, the *Santa Maria*, admiral Columbus, the *La Pinta*, Martin Alonzo Pinzon, and the *La Nina* with square sails, under the command of his brother Vincent Yanez Pinzon, both natives of Palos.

This small fleet being furnished with provision, necessaries, and manned with ninety men, sailed on Saturday the 3d day of August, 1492; but next morning the rudder of the *La Pinta* broke loose, so that the admiral was obliged to lie to, though the weather was so rough that the only assistance he could give, was that of encouraging the crew by

his presence. However, Pinzon the captain, who was an able seaman, soon repaired the damage, which was supposed to have been contrived by the master, who was averse to the voyage; and they proceeded tolerably well till Tuesday, when the ropes by which the rudder had been secured gave way, and they were forced again to lie by, until they had supplied the defect, so as to steer the ship as far as the Canary Islands, which they discovered on Thursday about break of day. Some of the superstitious sailors interpreted this accident as an ill omen; but Columbus wisely observed, that no omen could be evil where people were engaged in a good design: and, in order to divert their attention from such unmanly trifles for the future, he instructed them in the principles of navigation and geography.

Columbus waited a considerable time to purchase another vessel; but, being disappointed, he resolved to repair the damaged caraval by furnishing her with a new rudder, and at the same time to alter the square sails of the *La Nina*, that she might be the more able to keep company with her consorts for the future.

Having thus refitted and improved his fleet, the admiral left the *Grand Canaira* on the first of September, and next day arrived at *Gomera*, where some time being spent in laying in provisions, wood, and water, they set sail on Thursday the 6th, and stood away to the westward, with very little wind. On Sunday about day-break the admiral found himself nine leagues west of the island of *Ferro*, where they lost sight of land, and many people on board wept bitterly, from an apprehension they should never see it more. Columbus perceiving this despondence, which he was afraid would infect the whole company, comforted them with the most confident assurances of wealth and prosperity, and though they sailed eighteen leagues that day, pretended they had

had made no more than fifteen, resolving to disguise his reckoning in this manner during the whole voyage, that those spiritless mortals might not think themselves so far as they really were from Spain.

On Wednesday the 12th of September, being 150 leagues west of Ferro, the admiral discovered the body of a large tree, which seemed to have been a long time floating on the water. Here he found a current setting strongly to the north-east; and when he had run fifty leagues farther westward, he, on the 13th, in the twilight, perceived the needle varying half a point towards the north-east, and at day-break half a point more. He was greatly surprised by this variation, which had never been observed before; but he had reason to be still more amazed, when sailing about 100 leagues farther, he found the needles varied about a point to the north-east at night, and in the morning pointed directly north.

On the 14th the people on board the *La Nina* had been surprised at sight of a heron and tropic bird: but the next day they were still more astonished, when they saw the sea, in a manner, covered with green and yellow weeds, which seemed to have been lately washed away from some rock or island. This phenomenon gave them reason to conclude that they were near some land, especially as they perceived a live lobster floating among these weeds; and afterwards found the sea water grow less salt as they advanced: vast shoals of tunny fish also attended their fleet.

The 18th of September, Martin Alonzo Pinzon, captain of the *Pinta*, being a-head, lay to for the admiral, and informed him, that he had seen a great number of birds flying to the westward, so that he expected that night to discover land, which indeed he thought was already visible at about fifteen leagues distant to the northward. But the admiral was convinced of its being a deception, and therefore would lose no time in altering his course, notwithstanding the solicitations of his people, who were very well disposed

disposed to credit such an agreeable illusion. However, as the wind began to freshen, they took in their top-sails at night; and on the 19th of September, in the morning, the admiral seeing a number of sea-gulls, began to conceive hopes of land, from which he supposed these fowl would not fly a great way: he therefore founded, but found no bottom with a line of 200 fathoms; however, he perceived the current now set to the south-west. Three days after they took a bird like an heron, saw abundance of weeds, and in the evening were visited by three land birds singing, which flew away at day-break, and confirmed the admiral in the opinion that he could not be far from land. Next day, they saw a tropic bird, and such a quantity of weeds, as alarmed the people, who began to fear that their course would be impeded.

The wind now blew from the south-west, which though contrary, gave Columbus great satisfaction, as he could now convince the crew of the vanity of their fears, in supposing, that as the wind had been always right a-stern, they should never have a fair gale to carry them back to their own country. But in spite of all his reasons and remonstrances, the crew began to murmur, from an apprehension of perishing at sea, in quest of a country which in all probability had no existence; and their discontent rose to such a height, that a mutiny would certainly have ensued, had not a brisk wind sprung up at west-north-west, and demonstrated that they would always have a chance for returning, notwithstanding the insinuations of some, who had affirmed that the first change was no settled breeze, but a transient puff, which made no impression upon the surface of the sea. At the same time their hopes of discovering land were revived, by the sight of a dove that flew over the ship, and several small birds that came from the west.

But the mortification of the people was greater in proportion as they had been elated by these signs,
when

when they found themselves disappointed: and now, they not only loudly complained, but even began to cabal against the admiral, who they said, from a foolish and ill-grounded notion, had formed the design of raising his own family and fortune at their expence. They declared that they had already proceeded far enough to demonstrate their courage and perseverance, and that it was now high time to return to their friends and country, even though force should be necessary to obtain the admiral's consent. It was even actually proposed to throw him overboard, and to declare at their return, that while he was eagerly employed in making observations, he casually dropped into the ocean.

This spirit of mutiny among the sailors was not unknown to Columbus, who exerted uncommon address in quelling it; sometimes by representing the duty they owed to him, who was vested with a legal authority, which he was resolved to maintain at the hazard of his life; and sometimes by reproaching them with their impatience and pusillanimity, which even the most apparent signs of land could not remove. In a word, he demonstrated the folly of their fears, soothed the anxiety of their minds, and encouraged their hopes, in such a manner as prevented them from taking any resolution to the prejudice of the enterprize.

On the 25th day of September, about sun-setting, Pinzon, whose ship was a-head of the admiral, all of a sudden, called out, Land! land! and pointed towards the south-west, where they perceived something like an island, about twenty-five leagues distant: this appearance was so agreeable to the men, that they gave thanks to God with great fervency of devotion; and though Columbus was persuaded it was nothing more than a deception, yet, in compliance with their clamorous demand, stood towards the supposed island, during the best part of the night; but in the morning they saw it vanish in the clouds,

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on which their despondency returned, and they renewed their complaints. The admiral however persisted in the execution of his purpose, with a steadiness and intrepidity peculiar to himself. Three days after, they perceived the currents were altogether irregular; and on the 29th they saw some gulls, and abundance of flying fish.

On the first day of October, the pilot of the admiral's ship was by account 578 leagues west of the island of Ferro; though the reckoning of Columbus amounted to 707. On the third, seeing no birds, they conjectured that they had passed between some islands; and the men earnestly entreated the admiral to steer either to the one side or the other, in quest of the land they imagined they had left: but he refused to comply with their intreaties, being unwilling to lose the favourable wind that carried him to the westward, which he accounted his surest course, and would not take any step to lessen the reputation of his undertaking, which must have suffered in the opinion of his people, had he changed his course from that which he had all along assured them would terminate in the accomplishment of their wishes. This fortitude of the admiral they interpreted into obstinacy and madness, and were actually on the brink of taking some desperate step to his prejudice, when their fury was appeased by the arrival of above forty sparrows, and some other land birds that came from the westward, and flew over their fleet.

On the 7th of October, some imperfect signs of land appeared in that quarter, but no man on board would venture to mention it, because their catholic majesties, who had promised a pension of thirty crowns for life, to him who should first discover land, had likewise decreed, that whosoever should cry land! three days before it was actually made, should forfeit the reward, even though it should afterwards prove that he was really the first person who perceived it. But notwithstanding this precaution, the Nina, which
being

being the best sailer, kept always a-head, fired a gun, and hoisted her colours, in token of land; but the farther they sailed, the more they were convinced of their mistake; for the appearance that misled them totally vanished as they advanced. Next day, however, they were in some measure consoled for their disappointment, by flights of large fowl and small land birds flying towards the south-west: and the admiral being fully persuaded that they could not go far to sea, he in imitation of the Portuguese, who had discovered many islands by following the direction of such birds, altered his course and stood to the south-west, having now run 750 leagues to the westward of the Canaries.

On the 8th of October they were visited by twelve singing birds, of different colours, and saw a great number of jays, gulls, and ducks, flying towards the south-west; they likewise perceived the air to be fresh and odoriferous, as at Sevil in the month of April: but the crew had been so often deceived, that even these certain signs could not suppress their murmurs, which, during the two succeeding days, increased to such a degree, in spite of all the efforts of the admiral, that he would not have been able much longer to withstand the storm, which was ready to burst upon his head, had not such evident tokens of their being near the land appeared, as could not be disputed but by the most obstinate and incredulous among them.

On the 11th of October, those on board of the admiral saw a green rush, together with a large rock fish, swim by the ship; the people of the *Pinta* discovered a cane floating, and took up a staff curiously wrought, together with a small board, and abundance of weeds, newly washed from the banks on which they grew. A branch of thorn full of red berries was also at the same time perceived by the crew of the *Nina*.

Being therefore now assured of the vicinity of land, the admiral harangued his men at night, after prayers,
reminding

reminding them of the mercy of God, in granting them fair weather during such a long voyage, and exhorting them to be extremely vigilant for that night, as he firmly expected to see land next day; and in order to encourage them, not only mentioned the pension of thirty crowns, but also promised to give a velvet doublet to him who should be the first discoverer. After this speech, he, about ten o'clock at night, retired to the great cabin, from whence perceiving what he imagined to be a light on shore, he called to one Peter Gutierres, who soon plainly saw it, and conjectured it to be a candle or torch belonging to some fisherman or traveller, because it seemed to move, vanish, and appear by turns. This increased their vigilance and caution, though they still held on their course till about two in the morning, when the Pinta being far a-head gave the signal of land, which was first discovered by a sailor, called Roderick de Triana, at the distance of two leagues: but the pension was granted to the admiral, who had perceived the light some hours before. The ships now all lay to, and the people waited for morning with the utmost impatience, that they might feast their eyes with viewing an object so long and so ardently desired.

Nor were they now disappointed; for the dawn no sooner appeared, than they perceived an island, about fifteen leagues in length, almost one continued plain, covered with trees, supplied with delicious streams, and having a large lake in the middle. It was inhabited by a number of people, who ran down to the shore astonished at the sight of the ships, which they at first mistook for living creatures. In the mean time, the Spaniards were inflamed by the most eager curiosity, to know the particulars of this interesting discovery: and the vessels were no sooner brought to an anchor, than the admiral went ashore with his boat well armed, and the royal standard displayed, attended

tended by the other two captains in their respective boats, with the particular ensigns of this enterprize.

They were no sooner landed than they kneeled on the shore, giving thanks to God for his indulgence, and kissed the ground with tears of joy. The admiral then standing up, called the island St. Salvador*, and took possession of it for their catholic majesties, with the solemnity proper on such occasions. This ceremony being performed, he was acknowledged as admiral and viceroy, by the Spaniards, who now implored his pardon for the affronts and insults he had sustained from their fear and want of resolution, and readily swore to obey him as the representative of their catholic majesties.

A multitude of the Indians being present at the transaction, and appearing to be very simple, quiet, and peaceable, Columbus distributed among them some red caps, strings of glass beads, and other things of small value, which they received with transport; and when he returned to his ship, some of them swam after him, and others followed in canoes with parrots, bottoms of spun cotton, javelins, and other trifles, to barter for beads, bells, and other inconsiderable toys. Few of them seemed to be above the age of thirty. They were of a middle stature, well shaped, of an olive colour, with thick lank black hair, generally cut short above the ears, though some let it grow down to their shoulders, and tied it about their head like the tresses of women: their countenances were open, and their features regular; but their high foreheads gave a wildness to their aspect. The faces of some, and bodies of others, were painted black, white, and red; and all of them, female as well as male, were stark naked. So little were they acquainted with European arms, that they handled a naked sword by the edge, without suspecting its mischievous quality; they used javelins of wood, armed

* Now known by the name of Cat-island.

with

with fish-bone, being totally destitute of iron. And the Spaniards observing that they had marks of wounds on their bodies, some of them were asked by signs how these scars were acquired? They answered, in the same kind of language, that they received them in their own defence, against the inhabitants of other islands, who came with a view to enslave them. They seemed to be an ingenious people, and possessed a volubility of tongue, so as to repeat the words they heard with a very distinct pronunciation.

The next morning being the 13th of October, a great number of these Indians came aboard in their canoes, which are made by hollowing the trunk of a tree, some of them being so small as to hold one person only, and others large enough to contain forty: they were rowed with paddles, and so light, that if they chance to be overset, the rowers could easily turn them again, and empty the water with calabashes, which for that purpose they always carried with them.

These Indians had neither jewels nor any kind of metal, except some small plates of gold that hung at their nostrils, and as they expressed by signs, came from the south and south-west, where there were many princes, islands, and countries.

At the same time they were so fond of possessing any thing belonging to the Spaniards, that if they could pick up a bit of broken earthen ware upon the deck, they would leap into the sea and swim ashore with it. They were ready to exchange any thing they had for the greatest trifles, and some of them gave five and twenty pounds of well spun cotton for three small pieces of Portuguese brass coin not worth a farthing; not that they believed the things they purchased were of any intrinsic value, but because they were desirous of preserving some memorial of those white men, whom they looked upon as people descended from heaven.

On the 14th of October, the admiral in his boats coasted the island toward the north-west, until he found a large bay or harbour, large enough to contain all the ships of Europe. He was attended by multitudes of the inhabitants, expressing their wonder and regard by a thousand gesticulations. At length the admiral arrived at a peninsula, where he saw half a dozen of their houses and plantations, as pleasant as those of Castile in the month of May. But, finding this was not the land he looked for, he took seven of these Indians to serve as interpreters, and returning to his ships sailed on the discovery of other islands visible from the peninsula.

The next day, after sailing seven leagues, he arrived at the west end of one of these islands, about ten leagues in length, which he denominated St. Mary of the Conception; but, perceiving no difference between the inhabitants of this island and those of St. Salvador, nor any thing worth notice in its productions, he continued his course westward, and anchored upon the coast of a much larger island, extending north-west and south-east, above eight and twenty leagues. Before he reached this pleasant spot, which he named Fernandina, he took up an Indian in a small canoe, furnished with a piece of their bread, a calabash full of water, and a little earth like vermilion, with which those people paint their bodies; he was likewise provided with some dry leaves, valued for their agreeable and wholesome smell; and a little basket, containing a string of glass beads, and two small pieces of Portuguese money; from which circumstances it appeared he was bound from St. Salvador to Fernandina, with the strange news of the admiral's arrival; but the voyage being long, he was weary with paddling, and desired to be taken on board. Columbus granted his request, treated him courteously, and sent him on shore, that he might prepossess the natives of Fernandina in favour of the Spaniards. The success answered the admiral's expectation;

pectation ; for, in consequence of the favourable account given by the Indian, the islanders came aboard in their canoes, to barter with the same sort of commodities found at St. Salvador ; but they seemed to have more sagacity than the other, and made more advantageous bargains : they had some cotton cloth in their houses, and the women wore a kind of short petticoat or swathe round the middle. Here were some trees that seemed to have been ingrafted, as they bore leaves or branches of four or five several sorts : there was plenty of fish, of different shapes and colours, lizards, and snakes, and some dogs, which however did not bark ; their houses were built like tents, almost entirely void of furniture ; and the beds in which they lay, were like nets hanging from two posts. Columbus, finding nothing valuable in this island, sailed on the 19th of October to another, on which he bestowed the name of Isabella, in honour of her catholic majesty. This far exceeded the others in goodness, beauty, and extent. It abounded with delicious streams, pleasant meadows and groves, and the prospect was finely diversified with hills, which the rest wanted. The admiral, enamoured of its beauty, landed to perform the ceremony of taking possession, and walked through some meadows as green and delightful as those of Spain in the month of April. Here the ear was ravished with the songs of nightingales and other birds, which not only hopped from bough to bough, but even flew through the air in such swarms as darkened the day. Near one of the lakes, of which there was great plenty, the Spaniards, with their spears, killed an alligator seven feet long, which though at that time they looked upon with horror, they afterwards skinned and ate, being the most delicious food used among the Indians, by whom they are called *yvanas*.

Having made himself acquainted with the produce of Isabella, and the manners of its inhabitants, Columbus was unwilling to lose more time among those

those islands, and therefore set sail with a fair wind for a large country, extolled by the Indians, under the name of Cuba, lying towards the south; at the north side of which he arrived on the 28th of October. This land exhibited a most enchanting variety of hills and dales, woods and plains, and appeared to be of great consequence, by the extent of its coasts, and the largeness of its rivers.

The admiral, in order to obtain some intelligence of the natives, anchored in a large river, the banks of which were shaded by thick and tall trees, adorned with blossoms and fruit altogether unknown in Europe, and the ground was clothed with grass of a most luxuriant growth. The Spaniards entered two houses which were deserted by the people, who, terrified at the appearance of the ships, had betaken themselves to flight. They, however, sustained no damage; for the Christians, without touching any of their utensils, reembarked, and continued their course westward, until they arrived at the mouth of another river, which the admiral called de Mares. This being more considerable than the other, the ships entered and sailed up a good way, and the banks were all along inhabited; but here too the natives fled, with all the effects they could carry, to the mountains, which appeared round and lofty, covered with verdant and stately trees.

Sensible that he should never be able to learn the nature of this island, if the inhabitants should continue to avoid him in this manner, and fearing to increase their terror by landing a number of men, Columbus ordered two Christians, attended by an Indian of St. Salvador, and another of Cuba, who had ventured to come aboard with his canoe, to travel up into the country, and endeavour, by an engaging behaviour, to remove the terror of the people. In the mean time he directed the ship to be careened: on which occasion he observed that their fuel was

mastick wood, of which there was great plenty all over the island.

By the 5th of November the ship was repaired and ready to sail, when the two Spaniards returned, accompanied by two Indians of rank, and informed the admiral that they had travelled twelve leagues into the country, where they found a town consisting of fifty wooden houses covered with straw, made like those in the other islands, which contained about one thousand persons; that they were met by the principal men of the place, who led them by the arms to the town, where they were accommodated with a spacious lodging, and seated upon wooden benches, formed in the shapes of strange animals, with their tails lifted up for leaning places, and eyes and ears of gold. Being seated on these benches, the Indians took their places round them on the floor, and came one by one to kiss the hands and feet of these strangers, whom they supposed to have come from heaven: they, at the same time, treated them with some boiled roots, not unlike chesnuts in taste, and earnestly intreated them to stay some days, to repose and refresh themselves. After the men had thus fulfilled the rites of hospitality, they retired and made room for the women, who, with the same expressions of veneration, kissed their hands and feet, and entertained them with their homely fare. This favourable reception they owed to their two Indian attendants, who had represented the Spaniards as a humane and generous people.

When they set out on their return for the ship, a great number of people proposed to accompany them; but they refused this courteous offer, and would accept of none but the king and his son, whom the admiral treated with great civility and respect. Under the protection of this escorte, the two Spaniards were kindly entertained at several petty towns, and met with a great number of the inhabitants, who always carried lighted brands to
kindle

kindle their fires, with which they roasted those roots which constituted their chief food, and to perfume themselves with certain herbs they gathered for that purpose. They likewise saw a variety of birds and fowl, among which were partridges and nightingales, but no quadrupeds, except those silent dogs we have already mentioned: great part of the land was cultivated, and bore, besides the bread-root, and a sort of beans, a kind of grain called maiz, of which was made a very well tasted flour. Their principal manufacture was cotton, gathered from trees growing spontaneously, without the least care or culture. The Indians afterwards carried great quantities of this cotton on board the ships, where they exchanged a basket full for a thong of leather; indeed it could be of no great value to themselves, as they go naked, and make nothing of it but hammocks and short aprons for the women.

They had neither gold, pearls nor spices, but pointed towards the east, to a country called Bohio, where all these particulars abounded.

In consequence of this information, the admiral resolved to sail thither; but before he departed from Cuba, he took twelve Indians, men, women, and children, whom he intended to carry into Spain; and this seizure was made with so little disturbance, that a man who was a husband to one of the females, came aboard in his canoe, and begged he might accompany his wife and children: the admiral, being very well pleased with this instance of natural affection, granted his request, and treated them with great tenderness and respect.

On the 13th of November, he returned to the eastward in search of the island of Bohio; but the wind blowing hard at north, he was obliged to come to an anchor again, among some high lands near a large harbour, which he called del Principe; the sea in the neighbourhood of this port, being covered with islands that lay so close together, that the

greatest distance between any two of them did not exceed a quarter of a league: they produced a number of green trees, among others the mastic, aloes, and palm.

Columbus, on the 19th of November, put to sea, from Prince's Port, steered eastward for the island of Bohio or Hispaniola; but the wind being contrary, he was forced to ply two or three days between the islands of Cuba and Isabella. During this interval, he was deserted by Martin Alonzo Pinzon, who having been informed by some Indians whom he had concealed in his caraval, that Bohio abounded with gold, made use of the advantage he derived from his vessel, which was a prime sailer, and left Columbus in the night, with a view to anticipate his success, and engross the treasure of that wealthy country.—Thus abandoned by one of his consorts, and the weather growing too rough to keep the sea, Columbus returned to another harbour in Cuba, which he named St. Catherine's. Here while the crews were employed in taking in wood and water, he by accident perceived signs of gold on some stones in the river, and, farther up the country, saw mountains covered with such tall pines as would furnish masts for the largest ships; together with plenty of excellent oak for planks. In his run along the coast, for ten or twelve leagues to the south-east, he discovered many large rivers and excellent harbours, and was ravished at the beauty of the country. He called the place Puerto Santo, and said that on entering the river, he found from five to eight fathoms of water; and proceeding a considerable way farther up in his boat, he was delighted with the transparency of the water, through which he could plainly see the sandy bottom; and with the abundance and variety of verdant plains and lofty trees, inhabited by birds of different notes and plumage. He added, that he was even tempted in this delicious spot to fix his habitation

habitation for life. In this progress he saw a canoe drawn upon land, as large as a twelve oar barge, and afterward saw another canoe, formed out of the trunk of a single tree seventy feet in length, capable of containing fifty men.

After sailing 106 leagues along the shore, the admiral arrived at the east end of Cuba, which he called Alpha; and on the 5th of December sailed again for Bohio, which, though only sixteen leagues distant, he was prevented by the currents till the next day, when he anchored in a port which he called St. Nicholas, in honour of that saint, whose festival it happened to be. This harbour is large, deep, safe, and encompassed with many tall trees; though the country is rocky, and the trees in general not so large as those of Cuba. He could not however establish an intercourse with the inhabitants, who fled at his approach, so that he ran along the coast to the northward, until he arrived at a port which he called the Conception; and observing that the country was very extensive, and resembled the coast of Spain not only in the trees and plants, but also in the fishes, the admiral bestowed upon it the appellation of Espannola.—Here he saw numbers of the natives, who fled from his men with great precipitation; but having at length caught a young woman, who had a plate of gold hanging at her nose, she was carried to the ships, and presented with several baubles, such as bells and glass beads, then, without having received the least insult, dismissed to the town where she dwelt, attended by three Spaniards and as many Indians.

The next day, eleven men going on shore well armed, travelled four leagues up the country to a large village consisting of a thousand houses, and though the inhabitants fled as usual at their approach, they soon returned, at the persuasion of a St. Salvador Indian, who went after them, and represented the Christians in a favourable light. They now

gazed upon them with equal astonishment and awe, as a people come from heaven, presented them with victuals, and pressed them to stay all night in their village. The Spaniards declined accepting this invitation, and returning to the ships, reported that the country was pleasant and fertile, and the people whiter and handsomer than those whom they had hitherto seen; that they were tractable and courteous, and gave them to understand that the gold was found in a country farther to the eastward.

This account induced Columbus to set sail immediately; and on the 15th day of December, while he plied between Hispaniola and Tortuga, in a very rough sea, he took up an Indian from a little canoe, whom he was surprized to see live in such tempestuous weather, and set him safe ashore, with some present of small value. This man having signified to his countrymen how kindly he had been treated, they ventured to come aboard, but brought nothing of consequence, except some small grains of gold hanging to their ears and nostrils, of which, as they expressed by signs, there was a great quantity higher up in the country.

The next day, while the Spaniards were on shore, bartering with the cacique or lord of that district for a plate of gold, a canoe with forty men approached from the island of Tortuga, and the cacique no sooner perceived them, than he and his people sat down on the strand, in signal that they should not commit hostilities: but notwithstanding this token of peace, they landed; upon which he rose, and commanded them sternly to re-embark; at the same time he presented a stone to one of the Spanish officers, desiring him to throw it at the Tortugans, as a proof that he would espouse the cause of the strangers against the Indians of the canoe. This spirited conduct had the desired effect, and the Tortugans immediately returned to their own island, without committing the least insult.

The

The same cacique, on the 18th of December, came down in state, being carried on a palankine, and attended by two hundred men as naked as himself. He now made no difficulty of going on board the admiral, who was at dinner, and entered the cabin without ceremony, accompanied by two ancient men, who seemed to be his chief counsellors, and sat down at his feet. Columbus received the Indian chief with great civility and respect, and treated him with victuals and wine, which having tasted, he sent to his people who remained on the deck. After dinner, during which he and his ministers spoke very little, and that with great gravity and deliberation, he presented the admiral with a wrought girdle and two thin pieces of gold; in return for which he received a counterpane, a string of fine amber beads from the admiral's own neck, a pair of red shoes, and a bottle of orange-flower water, which were so agreeable to the prince, that he and his counsellors told Columbus the whole island was at his disposal. Then the admiral surprised him with the sight of a gold medal stamped with the effigies of Ferdinand and Isabella, which he considered with admiration, and indeed expressed signs of astonishment at every thing he saw. In the evening he was, at his own desire, sent ashore in the ship's boat, and saluted with the discharge of several guns, the noise of which filled him with terror and amazement: he was however so pleased with his reception, that he ordered his people to entertain the Spaniards who conducted him to land; and returned to the place of his residence, the admiral's presents being carried before him with great ostentation, by his attendants.

On the 24th of December, the admiral weighed and sailed to a head-land since called Punta Sancta, where he anchored about a league from shore, and the weather being quite calm, he retired to rest, which he had not enjoyed for two days: the crew followed his example, and, contrary to the orders he

had always given, left only a boy at the helm. This neglect proved fatal to the vessel, which about midnight was carried by the current upon a ridge of rocks, before any one on board was aware of the danger. The admiral himself was the first, who being waked by the cries of the boy at the helm, ran upon deck, where perceiving their situation, he ordered the master and three sailors to take the boat and carry out an anchor astern; but they, instead of obeying his directions, rowed to the other caraval, to preserve their own lives, without shewing the least concern for the safety of their companions. Columbus, seeing himself deserted by his own people, ordered the masts to be cut away, and the vessel to be lightened as much as possible; but all his efforts were ineffectual, and the water ebbing away, her seams opened, and all below deck was full of water. The boat now returned from the other caraval, which would not receive the men who had so basely deserted their commander; and the admiral seeing no hopes of saving his own ship, carried his men on board of the other, with which he lay to till morning. He then approached the land within the shoal, after having dispatched messengers to inform the Indian chief of his misfortune, and to solicit the assistance of the natives in unloading the vessel. The cacique condoled their misfortune with tears, and ordered his people to repair in their canoes to the wreck, and obey the admiral's directions: and by the assistance of these honest and friendly savages, every thing of value was carried ashore, deposited in houses appointed on purpose, and guarded with the utmost vigilance and fidelity.

On the 26th of December, this hospitable prince, whose name was Guacanagari, paid another visit to the admiral, whom he consoled for his loss with many demonstrations of sorrow and sympathy, told him he might command his whole fortune, presented him with some vizor masks, the eyes, nose, and ears of which

which were made of gold, and perceiving how fond the Spaniards were of that metal, promised to send for a great quantity from a place called Cebao. In the mean time a canoe arrived from a distant island with Indians, who brought plates of gold to exchange for bells, which they valued above every other commodity; while the seamen ashore carried on a trade with the natives of Hispaniola, who came from the inland part of the country, and bartered gold for points and other trifles.

The nature and productions of this island, together with the manners of the inhabitants, so highly pleased the admiral, that he resolved to settle a colony of Spaniards, who, by maintaining a friendly intercourse with the natives, might learn their language and customs, and acquire such information of the wealth and situation of the different parts of the island, as could not fail of being very advantageous to Spain. He was also encouraged to pursue this resolution, by the behaviour of several of his men, who voluntarily offered to stay; and the cacique was so far from taking umbrage at their neighbourhood, that he considered them as valuable allies, who would protect his people from the invasions of the Caribbee Indians, a savage race of canibals, by whom they were frequently killed and devoured. In order to insinuate the importance of his friendship, in presence of this prince, he ordered a great gun to be fired against the side of the wreck, through which the bullet penetrated, and fell into the water on the other side, to the amazement of the Indians, who believing that their guests were in possession of the thunder of heaven, implored their protection in the most earnest manner.

The admiral therefore, seemingly in compliance with the cacique's request, ordered a tower to be built of the timber of the wreck, and being furnished with provision, ammunition, arms, and cannon, he left a garrison of six and thirty men, under the joint command of James d'Arana, Peter Gatierres, and Roderick

derick d'Esquivado, whom he warmly recommended to the favour and good offices of the king and his people. Having provided the fort with all necessaries, he resolved to return directly to Castile, lest some other misfortune happening to the only ship that now remained, might for ever disable him from giving their Catholic majesties information of the important discoveries he had already made, and the countries he had annexed to their dominions. Accordingly he set sail from the port of Nativity, where he had settled this first Christian colony, on Friday the 4th day of January at sun-rising; and standing to the north-west, to get clear of the shoal water, took such marks of the land as would enable him to know the mouth of the harbour in any future expedition. The wind being contrary, he made but little way to the eastward, when on Sunday morning he fell in with the caraval Pinta, commanded by Martin Alonzo Pinzon; who going on board, endeavoured to excuse his desertion, by saying he had lost sight of the admiral in the night, and alleging other frivolous reasons, the fallacy of which though Columbus plainly saw, he disguised his sentiments, rather than run any risk of prejudicing the common cause, by giving rise to a dangerous dissention.

Pinzon had, it seems, sailed to a river fifteen leagues to the eastward of the Nativity, where he spent sixteen days in bartering with the natives for gold, of which he had obtained a large quantity, and distributed one half among the crew, in order at once to acquire popularity, and kept what remained for his own use. He therefore carefully concealed his success from the knowledge of the admiral. He next anchored at Monte Christo, a round hill like a pavilion, about eighteen leagues east of Cape Santo; but, the weather not permitting him to proceed, he went in his boat up a river to the south-west of the mount, and discovering some signs of gold-dust in the sand, he

he called it the river of Gold : this place is seventeen leagues to the eastward of the Nativity.

On the 13th of January, being near Cape Enamorado, the admiral sent his boat ashore, where there stood some Indians with fierce countenances, armed with bows and arrows, making a shew of opposition, though they seemed to be in great consternation. They were however, by the mediation of the Salvador linguist, brought to a kind of conference, and one of them venturing to go on board the admiral, appeared so ferocious, both in his speech and aspect, which was smutted with charcoal, that the Spaniards concluded he was one of the Caribbee Canibals, and that the bay parted this place from Hispaniola. But when the admiral inquired about the country of the Caribbees, he pointed with his finger to an island farther east, and gave him to understand that there was another near it, wholly inhabited by women, with whom the Caribbees conversed at a certain season of the year, and carried off all the male children that sprung from their embraces. Having answered all these interrogations, partly by signs and partly by means of the Indian interpreter, he was entertained with victuals, and set ashore, with presents of glass beads, and bits of red and green cloth, that he might persuade his countrymen to bring down gold to barter.

At the place where he was landed, fifty men with long hair, adorned with plumes of parrot feathers, had formed a sort of ambuscade, and being armed with bows and arrows, refused to carry on any trade with the Spaniards, notwithstanding the exhortations of their countryman, but, on the contrary, treated them with scorn, and even began to commit hostilities. The Christians, though only seven in number, seeing them advance with fury in their looks, met them half way, and charging them with great intrepidity, cut one with a sword on the buttock, and shot another with an arrow in the breast, to the terror of the whole party, who fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving their

their bows and arrows on the spot. The admiral was not displeased at this skirmish, which he imagined would inspire the Indians with such high notions of the valour of the Spaniards, as would hinder them from making any attempts to the prejudice of the settlement at the Nativity.

On the 16th of January the admiral, though both caravals were in a leaky condition, set sail for Spain from the gulph of Samana, and continuing his course with a fair wind, made so much way, that on the 9th day of February they were, according to the reckoning of the pilots, south of the islands Azores; but by the admiral's account, which proved to be right, they were one hundred and fifty leagues westward of these islands.

They had hitherto enjoyed a favourable gale, but the wind now began to rise, and the sea to run mountains high. This continued till the 14th of February, when they were overtaken by such a tempest, that they could not work their vessels, which were tossed about at the mercy of the storm. The caraval *Pinta* being incapable of sailing upon a wind, ran away due north before it, and in the night lost sight of the admiral, who steered north-east, in order to fetch the coast of Spain. In consequence of this separation, the company of each caraval concluded that the other had perished, and betaking themselves to acts of devotion, it fell to the admiral's lot to go a pilgrimage for the whole crew to our lady of Guadaloupe; one of the seamen was destined to go to Loretto, and another to watch a whole night at St. Olave of Moguer; but the fury of the wind and the sea still increasing, the whole company joined in a vow to walk barefoot and in their shirts to some church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. Their situation was rendered still more deplorable by the scarcity of provision, and the want of ballast, by which the ship was in danger of being overset. To remedy this inconvenience, the admiral ordered his casks to be filled with sea water; and that his discovery

covery might have some chance of being known, whatever might be the fate of him and his people, he wrote a brief account of it upon two skins of parchment, which he wrapped in oil cloths, covered with wax, and put into separate casks, whose bungs being well secured were thrown into the sea.

The storm continued till the 15th of February, when one of the sailors from the round-top discovered land to the east-north-east, which the pilot judged to be the rock of Lisbon, though the admiral supposed it to be one of the Azores. Soon after they saw another point of land, which proved to be St. Mary, where after four days spent in incessant labour, they came to an anchor. The inhabitants of this island came on board with fresh provisions, and many compliments from the governor, expressing their astonishment at the success of the expedition, and seemed to rejoice at the discovery of Columbus. They were likewise surprised to see he had outlived the storm, which, according to their account, had lasted fifteen days without intermission, adding, that there was in the neighbourhood an hermitage dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. The admiral and crew, on receiving this information, resolved to perform their vow, by walking thither barefoot.

Accordingly he sent the caraval's boat ashore, with one half of the company, to fulfil this penance, and return immediately, that the rest might succeed them in the same sort of devotion : but they had no sooner undressed themselves, and begun their procession, than they were attacked and made prisoners by the governor, and a number of people planted in ambush for that purpose. Columbus having waited in vain, from day-break till noon, for the return of the boat, began to suspect some treachery ; and as he could not, where he lay, discover the hermitage, he sailed round a point from whence he could see it, and perceived a good many Portuguese on horseback alight and enter the boat, with intent, as he supposed,

to

to attack the caraval. He therefore ordered his men to be upon their guard, and hoped the commander himself would come on board, in which case he would have detained him as an hostage : but the Portuguese not advancing beyond a certain distance, the admiral demanded their reason for committing such an outrage upon his men, who had gone ashore upon the faith of a safe conduct, and gave them to understand that the king of Portugal would certainly be offended at such behaviour to the subjects of their catholic majesties, with whom he was in alliance. To this remonstrance, the Portuguese captain answered, that what they had done was by the express order of the king ; so that Columbus imagining there was a breach between the two crowns, called all his people to bear witness to what they had heard, and directing his discourse to the Portuguese, swore he would never quit the caraval, until he should have taken a hundred Portuguese, and destroyed the whole island. He now returned to the port he had left ; but the wind increasing, and his riding being unsafe, he was obliged to stand out to sea, though he had only three able seamen left, the rest being boys, Indians, and landmen, who understood nothing of sea-affairs.

Next day, the weather being mild, he endeavoured to recover the island of St. Mary, which he reached on the 21st, in the afternoon ; and soon after his arrival, the boat came off with five men and a notary, who upon proper security went on board, and desired to know, in the governor's name, whence the ship came, and whether or not the admiral had the king of Spain's commission. Being satisfied in these particulars, they went ashore, and released the Spaniards, who had been informed, that the king of Portugal had sent orders to all his governors, to secure, if possible, the person of the admiral ; but this scheme miscarrying, they thought proper to dismiss their prisoners.

Having

Having recovered his men, Columbus departed from the island of St. Mary, on the 24th of February, with a very favourable wind. On the 3d of March, they were exposed to another tempest, attended with lightning and thunder, during which their sails were split; and they vowed another pilgrimage to our lady de Cinta at Guelva: they now ran under their bare poles through a terrible sea, and were in the utmost danger of being lost on the rock of Lisbon, which they accidentally discovered at midnight. They, however, weathered it with great difficulty; and next day being obliged to come to an anchor in the river Tagus, the admiral sent an express to their catholic majesties with the news of his arrival; and another to the king of Portugal, asking leave to anchor before the city, as his present station was far from being safe.

On the 5th of March, the master of a great guardship, with a boat full of armed men, came along-side of the admiral, whom he required to go and give an account of himself to the king's officers, according to the practice of all ships that entered that river. Columbus replied, that as the king of Spain's admiral, he would not degrade himself so far as to comply with any such custom, nor would he send the most inconsiderable person belonging to his ship upon an errand of that nature. The Portuguese finding him resolute, desired he would shew him the king of Spain's letter, that he might so far satisfy his captain; and this request being complied with, he returned to his ship, and made a suitable report to his commander Alvaro de Acunha, who forthwith came on board the caraval, attended with fifes, drums, and trumpets, and welcomed the admiral with many expressions of friendship. The nature of the voyage was no sooner known at Lisbon, than such multitudes of people came to see the Indians, and learn the particulars of this amazing discovery, that the whole river was covered with boats.

The

The king having received the admiral's letter, ordered his officers to present him with all sorts of refreshment and necessaries, gratis; at the same time, he wrote to Columbus, congratulating him upon his happy return, and desiring to see him before he left his dominions. Columbus at first scrupled to accept of this invitation; but, considering that the king of Portugal was at peace with his sovereign, and had treated him with uncommon hospitality and regard, he resolved to wait upon his Portuguese majesty, who then resided about nine leagues from Lisbon, at a place called Valparaíso; where the admiral arrived on Saturday the 9th of March. The king ordered all the nobility of the court to go out and meet him: and when the admiral was conducted to the presence, he insisted upon his putting on his cap and sitting down; and having with seeming pleasure heard the particulars of the voyage, offered to supply him with every thing he wanted, though he could not help observing, that the conquest of right belonged to him, as Columbus had been once in the service of Portugal. The admiral modestly gave his reasons for being of a contrary opinion; to which the king replied, "It was very well; justice will doubtless be done." This conversation being ended, he ordered the prior of Crato to entertain Columbus, who having staid all Sunday, and part of Monday, took his leave, after having been treated by his majesty with great honor, and tempted, by very considerable offers, to reingage in his service. In his return, he was attended by Don Martin de Noronha, and many other persons of rank; and as he passed by a monastery where the queen was, she desired to see him, and received his visit with great respect. That same night, a gentleman came from the king, to tell him, that if he was inclined to go to Castile by land, he would accompany and provide him with accommodations on the road, as far as the frontiers of Portugal. He declined this offer with suitable acknowledgements, and setting sail from
from

from the river of Lisbon on the 13th of March, arrived on the 15th at Saltes, and came to an anchor in the port of Palos, from whence he had departed on the 3d day of August in the preceding year.

On his landing, the admiral was received by all the people in procession, giving thanks to God for his prosperous success, which, it was hoped, would redound so much to the advantage of Christianity, and the grandeur of their catholic majesties. By this time Pinzon had arrived in Galicia, and designed to carry in person the news of the discovery to court, when he received orders, forbidding him to come without the admiral, under whose command he had been sent on the expedition. This mortifying repulse made such an impression upon him, that he fell sick; and returning to his native place, in a few days died of grief and vexation.

Mean while Columbus set out for Sevil, in his way to Barcelona, where their majesties at that time resided; and the roads were crowded by all sorts of people, who flocked together to see him and the Indians in his train. About the middle of April he arrived at Barcelona, where he was received in the most solemn manner, by the whole court and city: their catholic majesties, who sat in public upon their chairs, under a canopy of cloth of gold, stood up when he approached to kiss their hands, caused him to be seated in their presence, and treated him as a grandee of the first order, who had done the most important service to his country. Nay, so highly favoured was he for his merit and success, that when the king rode about Barcelona, Columbus was always at his side, an honour which had never been conferred before upon any but the princes of the blood.

Nor was their regard confined to unsubstantial forms; he was gratified with new patents, enlarging, explaining, and confirming the privileges which he had before obtained; and extending his viceroyalty and admiralship over all the countries he had dis-

covered, as well as those he should discover: for it was resolved, that he should return to the West Indies with a powerful armament, to support the colony he had settled, and proceed with other discoveries. In the mean time they solicited and procured from pope Alexander VI. an exclusive title to all the lands they should find and subdue in that direction, as far as the East Indies.

The Second Voyage of COLUMBUS.

AS soon as all the necessary measures were taken at court, for the success of his second expedition, admiral Columbus departed for Sevil, where he exerted himself with such diligence, that in a little time seventeen vessels of different sizes were ready to sail, well stored with provisions and other necessaries, for the improvement of the Indian colonies. Many handicraftsmen and labourers were engaged for this service, while the thirst of gold and the success of the first adventurers, drew together such a swarm of volunteers, that he found it absolutely necessary to reject a great number, until another opportunity should offer, and for the present restrict himself to fifteen hundred persons of all sorts, who actually embarked on this undertaking.

Having taken aboard some horses, asses, and other animals, which multiplied, and were afterwards of great use in the plantations, and being well furnished with all sorts of utensils and commodities for trade; the admiral sailed from the road of Cadiz, where the fleet was equipped, on the 25th of September 1493, an hour before sun-rising, and stood south-west for the Canary islands, where he intended to take in some refreshment. On the 28th, being 100 leagues from Spain, they saw abundance of
land.

land-fowl, such as turtle doves and other small birds, passing from the Azores to winter in Africa. On the 2d of October, he anchored at Gran Canaria, and at midnight sailed again for Gomara, where he arrived on the 4th, and gave orders for supplying the ships with all possible dispatch with wood, water and cattle; particularly with eight sows; from which were produced all the swine now in the West Indies. They were called West Indies from Columbus sailing to them westward; in hopes, as was mentioned at the beginning of his first voyage, of arriving that way to the East Indies.

His directions being followed, he, on the 7th of October, took his departure for the Indies, after having delivered sealed orders to every ship, not to be opened unless they should be separated from him by stress of weather. They run 400 leagues west of Gomara with a prosperous gale, and were surprised that they did not meet with any of those weeds which they had seen in their first voyage before they had made much more than half way. On the 26th at night, the seamen perceived upon the round-top, those lights which they call the body of St. Elmo, to whom they sing litanies and prayers, in full confidence that no danger would ensue, let the storm be never so violent.

On the 2d of November in the evening, the admiral perceiving a great alteration in the winds and sky, that poured down a deluge of rain, concluded he was near some land; and almost all the sails being taken in, ordered the crew to keep a sharp look-out. This was far from being a groundless precaution; for as soon as day began to break, they descried, about seven leagues to the westward, a high mountainous island, which the admiral named Dominica, because it was discovered on Sunday morning. Much about the same time, they spied three other islands; and the people assembling on the poop, sung the *salve regina*, and returned thanks

to God for their wonderful success in having sailed near 800 leagues in the space of twenty days. There being no convenient place for anchoring on the east side of Dominica, they stood over to another, which the admiral called Marigalante, after his own ship; and there landing, he, with the usual solemnity, confirmed the possession he had formerly taken of all the islands and continent of the West-Indies for the king and queen of Spain.

On the 4th of November, he sailed from hence to another great island, which he denominated St. Mary of Guadaloupe, in consequence of a promise he had made to the friars belonging to a convent of that name: at the distance of two leagues from this shore, they perceived a very high rock, ending in a point, from whence gushed a large stream of water, which fell with a prodigious noise. Some men being sent ashore in the boat, went up to a sort of town, which was abandoned by all the inhabitants, except some children, to whose arms the Spaniards tied a few bawbles, in token of friendship. They saw geese like those of Europe, abundance of very large parrots, pompions, and pine apples growing wild, of exquisite taste and flavour. They likewise saw different kinds of strange fruits, cotton, hammocks, bows and arrows, and other things, which they left untouched, that the owners might have the better opinion of their morals. Next day the admiral sent two boats ashore, with orders to take, if possible, some of the natives, from whom they might obtain some important information; and they returned with two young men, who said they were of another island, and taken prisoners by the inhabitants of Guadaloupe. The boats going ashore again for some of the people whom they had left, found six women who had fled to them, and desired to be carried on board; these the admiral presented with beads and bells, and dismissed, much against their inclinations; and they were no sooner landed, than

than the Caribbees robbed them of their ornaments, in sight of the Spaniards. The next time the boat's crew landed, these poor creatures leaped into the boat, imploring protection from the cruelty of the islanders, who, they signified, had eaten their husbands, and kept them in slavery. They were therefore brought aboard the admiral, whom they gave to understand, that there were towards the south many islands, and a large continent, from which, in former times, canoes had come to barter; and they pointed out the situation of Hispaniola; whether he would have steered without delay, had he not been informed, that one Mark, a captain, had, without his leave, gone ashore before day, with eight men, and was not yet returned; so that he was obliged to stay and send people in quest of him, with trumpets and muskets, the noise of which might be heard through the woods, that were almost impassable. However, this search proving fruitless, he sent another detachment of forty men, under captain Hoidea, with orders to range through the country, and make observations on its productions. They found mastic, aloes, sanders, ginger, frankincense, some trees that resembled cinnamon in taste and smell, and abundance of cotton: they saw falcons, kites, herons, daws, turtles, partridges, geese and nightingales; and affirmed, that in travelling six leagues, they crossed six and twenty rivers, several of which were very deep: this, however, must have been a mistake, into which, in all probability, they were led by the ruggedness of the country, that compelled them to cross the same river a great many different times.

While they were employed in this excursion, the stragglers returned to their ship of their own accord, and said they had been bewildered in the woods; but the admiral punished their presumption, by ordering the captain to be put in irons, and the rest to be curtailed in their allowance of provision. This

example being made, he himself landed, and entered some of the Indian houses, where he found a great deal of cotton, spun and unspun, together with abundance of human skulls and bones hung up in baskets : and he observed that the natives here were better accommodated with lodging, necessaries, and provision, than those of the island which he had visited in his first voyage.

On the 10th of November, he weighed anchor, and sailed with the whole fleet toward the northwest in quest of Hispaniola, passing an island he called Monseratte, on account of its height ; the inhabitants of which, as he learned from the Indians, had been totally devoured by the Caribbees. He coasted along St. Mary Redonda, so named from its round figure ; sailed by Sta. Maria la Antigua, extending to about twenty eight leagues ; and holding on his course, saw, to the north-west and south-east, several other high and woody islands, near one of which, intitled St. Martin, he came to an anchor, and when they weighed, pieces of coral were found sticking on the flukes. On the 13th of November, he anchored again on account of bad weather, at another island, where he ordered some Indians to be taken, that they might inform him of his true situation. Accordingly four women and three children being kidnapped by the boat's crew, they put off from shore, and in their way to the ship met with a canoe, in which were four men and one woman, who perceiving that they could not make their escape, put themselves in a posture of defence, and the female shot an arrow with such force and dexterity, that it actually went through a strong target. But the Spaniards endeavouring to board them, overset the canoe, so that they betook themselves to swimming, and one of them used his bow in the water as dexterously as if he had been on dry land : all the males were eunuchs, who had been castrated by the Caribbees,

bees, as the capons are made in Europe, with a view to their improvement in fatness.

The admiral departing hence, continued his course west-north-west, leaving to the northward fifty islands, the largest of which he called St. Ursula, and on the rest he bestowed the appellation of the Eleven Thousand Virgins. Then he anchored in a bay, on the west side of what he termed St. John Baptist, where the men caught skate, olives, pilchards, and shad; and saw falcons, and shrubs like wild vines. To the westward of the bay they visited some well-built houses, with a square in their front, from which was a spacious road down to the sea, flanked on both sides with cane towers, the tops of which were curiously interwoven with greens; and at the end of it, next the sea, stood a lofty gallery or balcony, large enough to hold ten or twelve persons.

On the 14th he arrived in the bay of Samana, on the north side of Hispaniola, where he sent on shore one of his Indians, who was a native of that part, and being now converted to the Christian faith, undertook for the submission of all his countrymen. From thence, continuing his course for the town of the Nativity, he was at Cape Angel visited by some Indians, who came aboard to barter; and coming to an anchor in the port of Monte Christo, some of his men discovered, near a river, two bodies of men with a rope made of a kind of broom about their necks, and their arms extended upon a piece of wood in form of a cross; this circumstance was looked upon as a bad omen, though it was impossible to discover whether they were Christians or natives of the country.

Next day, being the 26th, a number of Indians came aboard, with great confidence and appearance of friendship, and pronounced several Spanish words they had learned from the settlers, so that the admiral was eased of the apprehensions he had begun to

conceive ; as he could not imagine they would have behaved with such freedom and unconcern, had they been conscious to themselves of having injured the Christians. Next day, however, put an end to his doubts ; for, when he anchored near the town of the Nativity, some Indians came along side in a canoe, and enquired for him by name ; and being satisfied that he was there, went on board with two masks, and a compliment from the cacique Guacanagari. From these people he had the mortification to learn, that the greater part of his settlers were dead, and the rest gone to other countries : and though he suspected foul play, he concealed his suspicions for the present, and that same night dismissed the messengers with some utensils of fatten and other bawbles for their prince.

When he entered the port of the Nativity, he saw nothing but ruin and desolation ; the town was burnt to the ground, and not a soul appeared upon the beach ; and when he sent some of his people on shore to gather tidings, they found the bodies of eleven Spaniards, who seemed to have been a month dead. While he ruminated with sorrow and resentment on this unfortunate event, he was visited by Guacanagari's brother, who came down attended by some Indians, and told him, that he scarce set sail, on his return to Spain, when those he had left behind, began to quarrel among themselves, every man endeavouring to amass as much gold as he could find, and taking as many wives from among the natives, as his appetite, or rather his extravagance, seemed to require ; that Peter Gutierrez and Escovedo having killed one Iago, had, with nine others, retired into the dominions of a cacique called Caunabo, lord of the mines, who put them all to death, and afterwards came down with a great number of men to destroy the town. At that time, James de Arana with ten men were left to guard the fort, the rest having dispersed themselves about
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the island; and Caunabo, who stole upon them by night, setting fire to their houses, they fled into the sea, where eight of them perished, and the other three were slain on shore, while Guacanagari himself, who had joined the Spaniards, was obliged to fly, after having received a dangerous wound, by which he was then confined to his house, so that he could not wait upon the admiral according to his inclination. This story exactly agreeing with the intelligence he received from some Spaniards, who had been sent up the country to reconnoitre, and had actually seen Guacanagari at his own house, the admiral paid him a visit next day, and was received with all the appearance of cordiality and concern: the cacique repeated the melancholy tale with marks of unfeigned sorrow, shewed his own wound, and those of his men, which had been received in defence of the Christians, and appeared to have been made by Indian weapons. The compliments of condolance being past, he presented him with eight strings of small beads, composed of white, green, and red stones, a string of gold beads, a regal crown of the same metal, and three small calabashes, full of gold dust, weighing about two pounds. In return for these valuable presents, the admiral gave him toys to the amount of three reals, or eighteen pence, which he prized at a very high rate. Though he was extremely ill, he insisted on accompanying his guest to the fleet, where he was courteously entertained, and very much surprised at the sight of some horses. He was afterward instructed in the mysteries of the Christian religion, which he at first had made some scruple to embrace. The admiral being disgusted at this place, which had been the scene of so many disasters to him and his people, and knowing that in the neighbourhood there were more commodious places for a settlement, sailed to the eastward with the whole fleet, on Saturday December 7th, and next day came to an anchor among
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the small islands of Monte Christo, which, though destitute of trees, are nevertheless pleasant; for in that winter season they abounded with flowers, nests full of young birds, and every other production of summer. Weighing, however, he sailed from thence, and anchored before an Indian town, where he designed to plant a colony.

With this view, all the men designed for settlers, together with provision and proper utensils, were landed in a plain, where he built a tower called *Isabella*, in honour of the queen. This was judged a very convenient spot, because it was under a rock on which a fort might be erected: the harbour was very large, and at the distance of a bow-shot ran a river of delicate water, from which canals might be drawn through the middle of the town; and beyond it lay an extensive open plain, from which, the Indians said, the mines of Ceboa were not very distant. From the 11th day of December the admiral was eagerly employed in regulating this settlement, which being tolerably well adjusted, he sent Alonzo de Hoieda, with fifteen men, in quest of the gold mines; and on the 2d day of February he dismissed twelve ships of his fleet to Castile, under the command of captain Antonio de Torres. Hoieda soon returned, and gave the following account of his expedition.

On the second day he lay at the pass of an almost inaccessible mountain; at the distance of every league he found a cacique, by whom he was hospitably received; and continuing his journey, arrived on the sixth day at the mines of Ceboa, where he actually saw the Indians take up gold from a small river, as they afterward did from many others of the same province. This information was extremely agreeable to the admiral, who was just recovered from a fit of illness, occasioned by fatigue; and on Wednesday March 12th he set out from *Isabella* for Ceboa, attended by the people who were in health, on
foot

foot and horseback, except a strong guard which he left in the two ships, and three caravals, that remained under the command of his brother Diego Columbus. This precaution he took in consequence of a conspiracy he had detected on board, headed by one Bernarde de Pifa, who had embarked from Spain in quality of comptroller to their catholic majesties : but the combination being discovered, Columbus secured the ringleader, until he should have an opportunity of sending him home to undergo his trial. Having thus prevented the fatal consequences of a mutiny, he departed for Ceboa, with necessaries to build a fort in that province, for the security of those who should be left to gather gold among the Indians; and that he might the more intimidate and awe these savages, he made a parade of all his people, whom he ordered to march through their villages in rank and file, with their arms and accoutrements, trumpets sounding, and colours flying. In his march he passed by many Indian towns, composed of round thatched houses, the doors of which were so small, that no person could enter without stooping very low. The inhabitants seemed to have no notion of private property, for they attempted to take from the Spaniards any thing they chanced to like, and were surprised at meeting with a repulse. The whole way was diversified with pleasant mountains covered with wild vines, aloes, cassia, and various sorts of trees.

On the 14th of March, the admiral set forward for the river of Canes; and having proceeded a league and a half, arrived at the banks of another, which he named the Golden river, because here they gathered some dust and a few grains of that metal. Having with some difficulty passed this large body of water, he found a considerable town, and all the houses shut against him by the inhabitants, who had barred the doors with canes, which they looked upon as an impregnable defence. On the 16th of March, he entered the province of Ceboa, which, though
rough

rough and stony, yields plenty of grass, and is watered by several rivers abounding with gold, washed down from the mountains; but has few trees, except some pines and palms on the banks of the rivers.

His first care was to erect a fort in a very strong, though pleasant situation, to command the country about the mines, and protect the Christian adventurers. This fortification, which he called the castle of St. Thomas, was sufficient to render all the attempts of the Indians abortive. It was garrisoned by fifty-six men, under the command of Peter Margarite, and among these were workmen of all sorts, to finish and repair the fort.

The admiral, after giving proper directions to the garrison, set out on his return for Isabella, and arrived there on the 29th of March, where he found melons already fit to eat, though the seed had not been above two months in the ground. Cucumbers came to perfection in twenty days; and a wild vine in the country, being pruned, produced large and excellent grapes. The next day a peasant gathered ears of wheat, which he had sown in the latter end of January: vetches improved in the soil, and produced a ripe crop in twenty five days after they were sown. The stones of fruit sprouted out in seven days; the vine branches put forth in the same time, yielding green grapes in five and twenty days, and sugar canes budded in the same space; so that the admiral was perfectly well pleased with the climate, the soil, and the water, which was extremely pure, cool, wholesome and palatable.

On the 1st of April, a messenger arrived from St. Thomas, with intelligence, that the cacique Caunabo was employed in making preparations for attacking the fort: and though Columbus paid no regard to this report, knowing how little the natives were to be feared, especially as they were so much terrified by the horses, yet intending to put to sea
with

with his three caravals, in order to discover the continent, he resolved to leave every thing quiet behind him; and for that purpose sent a reinforcement of seventy men to the fort, the greatest part of whom had orders to make the roads more passable, and find out the fords of the rivers. In the mean time he completed his town, which was laid out in regular streets, with a convenient market place, and supplied it with the river water, conveyed through an artificial canal. He likewise erected a water-mill to grind wheat; but as his people were not as yet accustomed to the food of the natives, and provisions beginning to fail, he determined to send all the superfluous mouths to Spain. This step he was rather induced to take, because the climate disagreed with many, who were in a sick and languishing condition: as for those who enjoyed health, and were not absolutely necessary in the town, he sent them out to traverse the island, that they might reconnoitre the ground, accustom themselves to the Indian diet, and strike a terror into the inhabitants: they were commanded by Hoieda, who had orders to march into Ceboa, and deliver them to Peter Margarite, who received directions to lead them round the island, while Hoieda commanded the fort of St. Thomas.

Accordingly four hundred of the Spaniards departed on the 29th of April from Isabella; and, having crossed the river del Oro, apprehended a cacique, whom, together with his brother, they sent in irons to the admiral. This punishment was inflicted on the cacique for breach of trust. He had accommodated three Spaniards in their way from St. Thomas to Isabella with five Indians to carry their cloaths over a river; but the Spaniards were no sooner in the middle of the stream, than the savages ran away with the baggage, and the cacique, instead of punishing them for the theft, refused to restore the booty.

Another

Another cacique who dwelt beyond the river, relying upon the service he had done the Spaniards, accompanied the prisoners to Isabella, in order to intercede in their behalf with the admiral, who entertained him courteously; but in order to enhance the value of the favour he intended to grant, commanded the delinquents to be brought out to execution. The mediator seeing them in this dangerous situation, shed a flood of tears, and begged their lives might be spared, with the most earnest entreaties; in consequence of which they were pardoned and dismissed. Immediately after their release, a man on horseback, just arrived from St. Thomas's, told the admiral, that in his way through the town belonging to the cacique who had been prisoner, he had singly rescued four Spaniards, whom the Indians had taken by way of reprisals, and chased about four hundred people, who fled at the very sight of his horse.

Columbus having now fitted out his fleet for a new expedition, appointed a council to govern the island in his absence, consisting of his brother Diego as president, and five other persons*. Then he sailed to Cuba, ran along the south side of that island,

* It was during the time that Columbus was thus settling the affairs of Hispaniola, that John Cabot, (a citizen of Venice, who lived at Bristol) and his son Sebastian, sailed from the last mentioned city upon discoveries; saw the continent of Newfoundland, to which they gave the name of *Prima Vista*, or First-seen; and on the 24th of June, the same year 1494, went ashore on an island, which they called St. John's, from its being discovered on St. John's day. John Cabot, on his return to England, obtained a patent for making discoveries; but dying soon after, king Henry VII. granted a new patent to his son Sebastian, who set sail on the 4th of May, 1497, before Columbus began his third voyage. Sebastian sailed as high as $67^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude; proceeded from thence into the latitude of 56° , and from thence ran down to 38° along the coast of the continent of America, which he expressly says, was afterwards called Florida, where provisions growing short, he sailed back, touched at Newfoundland, and returned to England.

and put into a large bay, which he called Puerto Grande, from its extent and depth of water.

On the 3d of May, the admiral sailed for Jamaica, where he was told there was great plenty of gold, and on the 5th, anchored in that island, which he thought the most beautiful of any he had yet seen. An astonishing multitude of natives came on board in canoes of different sizes, to barter provisions, which they exchanged for the most inconsiderable toys. The next day, he coasted along the shore; but sending out his boats to sound the mouths of some harbours, they were surrounded by canoes full of armed men, who seemed bent upon committing acts of hostility. The Spaniards, however, being resolved to enter Puerto Bueno, saluted them with a flight of arrows, by which six or seven were wounded, and the rest so intimidated, that they fled with precipitation. In this harbour, the admiral's ship was repaired, and on the 14th, he stood over again to Cuba, with full resolution to know whether it was an island or a continent. The same day a very young Indian of Jamaica coming on board, desired to accompany the admiral to Spain; and though many of his kindred and countrymen came, with tears in their eyes, earnestly entreating him to return, he persisted in his resolution, and the admiral gave orders he should be treated with the utmost kindness and civility.

On the 15th, the admiral reached the point of Cuba, which he denominated Cabo de Santa Cruz; and as he coasted along, was overtaken by a terrible storm, attended with thunder and lightning, the more dangerous as he was entangled among flats and currents, which hindered him from taking in his sails. He found the whole sea, to the north and north-east, interspersed with a vast number of little, low, sandy islands, some of which scarce appear above the surface of the water, and render the navigation very difficult. Indeed the nearer they sailed to Cuba, the higher and pleasanter these islands appeared; and as
it

it would have been a tedious talk to bestow a name upon every particular, he stiled them the Queen's Garden. The next day they seemed to multiply on all hands, insomuch that the men reckoned one hundred and sixty, parted from each other by navigable channels, through some of which the ships sailed. On these they saw a great number of cranes red as scarlet, abundance of tortoises or turtle, and their eggs, and an infinite number of little singing birds. The very air was as sweet as if it had been impregnated with the scent of roses, and all other vegetable perfumes.

In one of those channels they found a canoe with fishermen, who seeing the boat approach, made signs to the Spaniards to lay upon their oars, until they had performed their operation, which was very singular and curious. They had tied a string round the tail of some small fishes called *reves*, that are taught to encounter other fish, to which they cling so fast, by means of a certain roughness and viscosity in their skin, that the fishermen draw them up together: upon this occasion they caught a tortoise; and the *reve* was wound about its neck, where they generally fasten to secure themselves from the teeth of their game; and in this manner they will sometimes attack sharks of the largest size. The Indians having drawn their line very quietly, went on board of the admiral, and presented the fish which they had caught; for which he gratified them with a few baubles, and held on his course: though he now began to be in want of provisions, and his health was very much impaired by fatigue and want of rest, which he would not venture to enjoy amidst such a number of unknown islands, which every night produce a great fog to the eastward, accompanied with thunder and lightning, though it vanishes as soon as the moon is risen. During the night, the wind generally blows off shore, but in the day it is almost always easterly, and seems to follow the sun in its diurnal course.

On

On the 22d of May, the admiral landed on an island somewhat larger than the rest, which he called St. Mary, and entered a town abandoned by the inhabitants, where he found nothing but fish, and some dogs that resemble mastiffs. He then directed his course north-east, where he was still perplexed and fatigued, by sailing and sounding among an astonishing number of flats and islands; because, in spite of all his precautions in sounding and keeping a good look-out, the ship was often a-ground, and there was no possibility of avoiding this inconvenience: this consideration, joined to those we have already mentioned, obliged him to relinquish his design of sailing east about until he should return to Spain.

The ships being now in want of water, Columbus touched again at Cuba, and one of the sailors going up among the trees with a cross-bow in search of game, saw about thirty people armed with spears and staves, called Macanas, and among them a person clad in a white coat or vest that reached down to his knees, and carried by two men in long garments of the same stuff, all three being as white as Spaniards: but he had no conversation with them; because, seeing such a number, he called to his companions, and the Indians ran away without looking back. Next day the admiral sent people on shore to know the truth of this report, but the woods and bogs were so impassable, that they could not proceed in their inquiry.

About ten leagues to the westward of this place, they saw houses, from which the natives came in canoes, with water, and such food as they eat; and one of them was detained as an interpreter by the admiral, who promised to dismiss him in safety, as soon as he should have given him proper directions for his voyage, and a distinct account of the country. The Indian was satisfied with his promise, and gave him to understand that Cuba was an island; that the king

or cacique of the western part never spoke to his subjects, but made certain signs, in consequence of which all his orders were performed; and that all the coast was very low, and surrounded by small islands. Next day, June the 11th, the admiral being inclosed between two of these, was obliged to tow the ships over a flat; and bearing up closer to Cuba, they saw very large tortoises, in such numbers, that they actually covered the sea. Next day the sun was darkened by a cloud of sea-crows that came from seaward, and lighted upon the island, where they likewise saw abundance of pigeons and other birds; and afterward, such swarms of butterflies, that the day was obscured from morning till night, when they were carried away by a deluge of rain.

On the 13th of June, the admiral being in want of wood and water, anchored in the island of Evangelista, about thirty leagues in compass; and having provided the ships with what they wanted, directed his course southward, in hopes of finding another passage: but, after having sailed a few leagues through what seemed to be a channel, he saw himself embayed, and was obliged to return as he entered. Hence he sailed on the 25th, towards some small islands that appeared to the north-west; not far from which the sea seemed in different places to be of various colours, owing, in all probability, to the shallow water, and nature of the bottom seen through it. Thence returning to the coast of Cuba, he stood to the eastward with scant winds, and on the 30th day of June, while he was writing his journal, the ship ran a-ground so fast, that she could not be got off without great difficulty, and some damage.

Mass was performed on the 7th of July, during which they were visited by an old cacique of that province, who listened very attentively to the service, and afterwards signified his belief of the existence of a supreme Being, who rewards virtue, and punishes vice

life in a future state: he was acquainted with some of the chiefs in Hispaniola, had been in Jamaica, and at the west end of Cuba, where the cacique was clad like a priest.

On the 16th of July, the admiral put to sea, though very much incommoded by the rains and winds, which, as he approached Cape Cruz, suddenly increased to such a storm, that the ships were almost overfet before the sails could be furled, and they shipped so much water, that the men were scarce able to keep them clear by pumping, so much were they reduced by fatigue and want of provisions: a man's allowance being stinted to a pound of rotten bisket, and half a pint of wine per day, which the admiral himself did not exceed. In this distress, he, on the 18th of July, reached Cape Cruz, where he was very civilly entertained by the Indians, who supplied him with bread called cassada, made of roots grated, abundance of fish, and store of pleasant fruit. Thus refreshed, he stood over to Jamaica on the 22d day of July, and coasting along to the westward, found it full of excellent harbours, and abounding with inhabitants; he judged it to be about 80 miles in compass.

The weather clearing up, he sailed to the eastward, and on the 20th of August, making the south side of Hispaniola, called the first point Cape St. Michael, which is about thirty leagues distant from the most easterly part of Jamaica, and at present known by the name of Cape Tiburon. On the 23d he was visited aboard by a cacique, who called him by his name, and pronounced some Spanish words; and about the latter end of the month, he anchored in an island known by the name of Alto Velo, after having lost sight of the other two ships that were under his command. Here the men killed eight seals that lay asleep on the shore, and took abundance of pigeons and other birds, which, being unaccustomed to the cruelty of the human species, stood still, and allowed them-

selves to be knocked on the head with staves. At the end of six days, being joined by the missing ships, they stood for the island Beata, at the distance of twelve leagues from Alto Velo: thence coasting along Hispaniola, which exhibited a delightful prospect of a plain, running up a mile from the sea, so populous, that for a whole league it seemed to be one continued town, in the neighbourhood of which appeared a lake, five leagues in length from east to west. Here the natives came aboard in their canoes, and informed the admiral, that they had been visited by some Spaniards from Isabella, where all was well. He was very much pleased with this information, and immediately dispatched nine men across the island to his colony, with the news of his safe return, while he and his ships still sailed along the coast to the eastward. In this course he sent the boats for water, near a great town, from which the Indians came to oppose their landing, with bows and poisonous arrows, and produced some ropes, with which they threatened to bind the Christians: but as soon as the boats reached the shore, they laid down their arms, and asked for the admiral, to whom they made a tender of all they had.

Near this place, they saw in the sea a fish as big as a whale, with a great shell, like that of a tortoise, upon its neck: it bore its head, which was as large as an hog's head, above water, had a very long tail, resembling that of a tunny fish, and two large fins on the sides. From this, and other concurring signs, the admiral prognosticated a change of weather, and seeking some place where he might ride secure, it was his good fortune to discover an island near the east part of Hispaniola, called by the natives Adamanai. Between this and Hispaniola, he came to an anchor close under another small island, and observed an eclipse of the moon, which was followed by a tempest that lasted several days; so that he was obliged to lie in this situation till the 20th, not without great apprehension on account of the other vessels which could

not get in. However, they weathered the storm and joined the admiral, who sailed on the 24th to the eastermost point of Hispaniola; from whence he passed over to a little island which the Indians called Mona, and in his passage from hence to St. John de Borriguen, he was, in consequence of the fatigue he had undergone, seized with a pestilential and lethargic fever, which deprived him of his senses and memory. In this dilemma, it was resolved by his people to desist from the design he had formed, of discovering the Caribbees, and to return to Isabella, where they arrived in five days; and on the 29th of September, the admiral recovered the use of his reason, and his fever left him, though his weakness lasted five months.

On his arrival at Isabella, he found his brother Bartholomew, who, in returning to Spain from the court of England, had been informed of Christopher's success, by Charles king of France, who supplied him with a hundred crowns for the expence of his journey. Having received this intelligence, he made all the haste he could to overtake the admiral in Spain, but before he arrived in Sevil, his brother had sailed on his second voyage: however, he soon followed with three ships, the command of which was given to him by their catholic majesties. And now the admiral made him governor of the Indies, though this title occasioned some dispute; because the king and queen alleged, that Christopher had no power to grant such an office: nevertheless this difference was compromised, and his place confirmed under the title of Adelantado, or lieutenant of the Indies.

Though the company and assistance of Bartholomew were of great comfort and service to the admiral, he was involved in infinite trouble and vexation, by the misconduct of Peter Margarite, which had produced a revolt among the Indians. This officer, instead of obeying the orders of Columbus, in traversing and reducing the island, with 360 foot, and

14 horse, which were left under his command, encamped in a great plain, called Vega Real, at the distance of ten leagues from Isabella, from whence he sent insolent letters, and even orders to the council, over which he wanted to domineer : but finding it impracticable to succeed in his design of usurping the supreme command, and dreading the return of the admiral, who would call him to an account for his behaviour, he embarked in the first ship bound for Spain, without having assigned any reason for his departure, or in any shape disposed of the men who were under his command ; so that every person being at liberty to follow his own inclination, they dispersed themselves in the country, robbed the natives of their women and effects, and committed such outrages, as entirely alienated the affections of the Indians, and even induced them to lay schemes of revenge.

Indeed they might have easily shaken off the Spanish yoke, had they united in their own defence : for, there were four principal kings or caciques, namely, Caunabo, Guacanagari, Behechico, and Guarconex, and upon each of these 70 or 80 petty lords depended ; not that these vassals paid tribute, but were obliged, when called, to assist them in their wars and agriculture. Guacanagari continued a firm friend to the Christians ; and, visiting the admiral at his return, declared he had been in no shape aiding or assisting to those who had injured the Spaniards ; but, on the contrary, had protected and maintained one hundred of his people, and for that reason incurred the displeasure of the other kings. Behechico had killed one of his women, and another had been taken away by Caunabo ; so that he implored the assistance of Columbus, to recover her who was alive, and revenge the other's death. The admiral had so often experienced the humanity and affection of this cacique, that he resolved to redress his wrongs, especially as it was his interest to foment and maintain
dissension

diffention among the Indian chiefs, who, in being divided, would be the more easily subdued. In the mean time, some of the natives who had murdered his men, being apprehended, were punished with death, and others sent to Spain in four ships, which had come out in February, under the command of Antonio de Torres.

On the 24th of March 1495, Columbus, with Guacanagari, departed from Isabella, to prosecute the war against his Indian enemies, who were assembled to the number of one hundred thousand, while his forces did not exceed two hundred Christians, with twenty horses and as many dogs.

On the second day of his march, being in sight of the enemy, he divided his army into two bodies, giving the command of one half to his brother the lieutenant, that by attacking in two places at once, they might increase the terror and confusion of the Indians, who were scattered about the plains. Accordingly, the Spaniards having first thrown them into disorder, by a discharge of their cross-bows and muskets, fell in among them with their horses and dogs, charging with such fury, that the faint-hearted multitude were routed and fled different ways, with great precipitation. Many were slain in the pursuit, and a great number made prisoners; among whom was Caunabo, with all his wives and children. This cacique confessed that he had killed twenty of the Christians, who had been left with Peter de Arna at the Nativity, that his intention was to act in the same manner at the town of Isabella, which he had reconnoitered under colour of friendship. Such a confession, together with his being taken in actual rebellion, were matters of such importance, that the admiral thought proper to send him and his whole family into Spain, where they might be used according to the pleasure of their Catholic majesties.

The Indians were so much intimidated by the victory which the Spaniards had obtained, and the cap-

tivity of Caunabo, that in the space of a year, the admiral, without drawing a sword, reduced the whole island to obedience, and imposed a quarterly tribute to be paid to the king and queen of Spain. Thus every thing was settled to the satisfaction of all parties, and the people became so quiet and pacific, that a single Spaniard could travel in safety over the whole island, and be received every where with hospitality and regard: though by this time, the colony was, by the diseases of the climate, and change of diet, reduced to less than one third of the number which first landed at Isabella.

During this interval of peace, the Spaniards by conversing with the natives, became better acquainted with their manners and customs, and among other things, learned that the island produced copper, azure, amber, ebony, cedar, frankincense, a kind of bitter cinnamon, ginger, long-pepper, and a great number of mulberry trees, which bear leaves all the year for the support of a silk manufacture. — With regard to religion, the admiral himself writes, that every king or cacique, here, as well as in the other islands and continent, had a detached house set apart for the lodging and service of certain wooden images called Cemís, before which they prayed with great devotion, and peculiar rites. Caunabo being questioned about a future state, said, that after death he should go to a certain vale, where he should find his parents and predecessors, and eat, and drink, and enjoy all the sensual pleasures in the highest perfection.

The island of Hispaniola being now in a state of quiet submission, the colony of Isabella established, and three forts erected in different parts, for the security of the Spaniards, the admiral resolved to return to Castile to give an account of these transactions, and acquit himself of some slanderous accusations, which certain envious and malicious persons had laid against him and his brother. He therefore, on Thursday 10th of March, 1496, went on board with two hundred

dred and twenty-five Spaniards, and thirty Indians, embarked in two caravals called Santa Cruz and Nina, and sailing from Isabella early in the morning, began to ply to the eastward.

On the 22d, he weathered the most easterly point of the island, still continuing the same course, though the wind was in his teeth, till the 6th of April, when finding his provisions falling short, and his men weary and discouraged, he stood off more southerly to the Caribbee islands, and on Saturday the 9th, anchored at Marigalante. Next day he sailed to Guadaloupe, and sent ashore his boats, which being opposed by a number of women, who rushed out of a wood with bows and arrows; the Spaniards laying on their oars, ordered two of their Indian women to swim ashore, and tell the islanders that they wanted nothing but provisions, for which they would give them a valuable consideration.

When the female warriors understood the demand of the Christians, they directed them to the north-side, where they would be supplied by their husbands: accordingly the ships coasting round the island, a great number of people came down to the shore, and let fly several flights of arrows at the boats: but perceiving the Spaniards rowed towards the shore, they formed an ambuscade in the nearest woods, from whence, however, they were driven by the cannon of the ships; so that their houses and effects being abandoned, were pillaged and destroyed by the Christians, who being acquainted with the method, went to work, and made a sufficient quantity of bread to supply their wants. In these Indian houses, which, contrary to the practice of the other islands, were square, they found large parrots, honey, wax, and iron, of which they had hatchets and looms for weaving their tents; and in one, they perceived a man's arm roasting on a spit.

While some of the people were employed in baking bread, the admiral detached forty men to obtain
some

some intelligence of the country, and next day they returned with ten women and three boys, among whom was the wife of a cacique, who had been taken by a Canary man, remarkably swift of foot. Notwithstanding his nimbleness, he could not have overtaken her, had not she, seeing him alone, turned back in full confidence of making him her prey. She accordingly seized and threw him on the ground, and he certainly would have been stifled, had not some of his companions come to his assistance. These women, who are excessively fat and thick, swathe their legs with a piece of cotton from the ankle to the knee, and wear their hair long and loose flowing upon their shoulders, but no other part of their bodies is covered. The captive lady said the island was inhabited by women only, and that among those who endeavoured to oppose the landing, there were but four men, who chanced to be there by accident; for, at certain times of the year, they come from other islands, to procreate the species. This is likewise the case in another island called Matrimonio, possessed by the same sort of Amazons, who seemed to be endued with masculine strength and a clearness of understanding which is not found among the men of that country; for as other Indians reckon the day by the sun, and the night by the moon only, the women are acquainted with astronomy, and they measure their time by the rising and setting of the stars.

The admiral having furnished his ships with a supply of bread, wood, and water, set sail from Guadeloupe on the 20th of April, after having gratified and sent on shore all the inhabitants, except the chief lady and her daughter, who chose to go to Spain along with Caunabo, who, though a cacique of Hispaniola, was a native of the Caribbees.

By the 20th of May the ships being about 100 leagues west of the Azores, provisions began to fail, so that each man was restricted to an allowance of six pounces of bread, and something less than a pint of water

water per day; and the admiral found the Dutch compasses varied a point, while those of Genoa had very little variation.

On the 8th of June, several days after the reckonings of all the pilots had been out, exactly according to the admiral's account, they made the land of Odenicra, between Lisbon and Cape St. Vincent, which some mistook for the coast of Galicia, while others affirmed they were in the English channel; and by this time the scarcity on board was so great, that many of the people proposed to eat the Indians, and others were of opinion they should be thrown overboard, in order to lessen the consumption of the provision that remained. But both these cruel expedients were rejected by the admiral, who exerted his whole authority and address for the protection of those poor creatures; and next morning he was rewarded for his humanity with the sight of land, which agreed so well with his prediction, that his men believed he was actually inspired with the spirit of prophecy.

The admiral being landed, set out for Burgos, where he was favourably received by their Catholic majesties, who were then celebrating the nuptials of their son Prince John, with Margaret of Austria, daughter of Maximilian the emperor. He presented the king and queen with samples of every peculiar production of the Indies, such as birds, beasts, trees, plants, instruments, and utensils, together with several girdles and masks adorned with golden plates, and a large quantity of gold dust, with grains of that metal of various sizes, from the bigness of a vetch, to that of a pigeon's egg.

Having afterwards vindicated his own conduct to the satisfaction of their majesties, he earnestly begged to be sent back with supplies to the colony which he had left in want of men and many necessaries; but notwithstanding all his solicitations, the court was so dilatory, that ten or twelve months elapsed before he could

could obtain a supply, which was sent in two ships commanded by Peter Fernandez Coronell. After his departure, Columbus continued at court, to negotiate the equipment of such a fleet as would be proper for him to conduct to the West-Indies: but this was long retarded by the negligence and mismanagement of the king's officers, and particularly of Don John de Fonseca archdeacon of Seville, who being afterwards created bishop of Burgos, proved an inveterate enemy to the admiral, and was the chief of those who, in the sequel, brought him into disgrace with their Catholic majesties.

The Third Voyage of COLUMBUS.

COLUMBUS having forwarded the expedition with the utmost care and industry, on the 30th of May 1498, set sail from the bay of St. Lucar de Barrameda, with six ships loaded with provisions and necessaries for the relief of the planters in Hispaniola, and with full resolution to make farther discoveries.

On the 7th of June he arrived at the island of Puerto Santo, where he took in wood and water: on the 9th he touched at Madeira, where he furnished himself with other refreshments; and on the 19th reached Gomera, where a French ship having taken three Spanish vessels, weighed and stood to sea with them, at sight of the squadron. The admiral was no sooner informed of this capture, than he ordered three of his ships to give chase; but they made too much way to be overtaken: one of the prizes, however, was retrieved by the bravery of the Spaniards, whom the French had left on board, and who clapping their captors under the hatches, brought the vessel safely into port again.

From

From hence the admiral sailed for the island of Ferro, where he resolved to send three of his ships to Hispaniola, while he with the rest should sail towards the Cape de Verd islands, and from thence directly over to discover the continent. In consequence of this determination, he appointed Peter de Arana, Alonzo Sancher de Caravajal, and John Antonio Columbus his own kinsman, captains of the three ships bound to Hispaniola, with orders, that each should command a week in his turn; and this disposition being made, the ships parted, each squadron upon its respective voyage.

On the 25th of June, the admiral descried the island De Sal, and passing it, came to an anchor in another called Bona Vista, on which are six or seven houses for the accommodation of lepers who go thither to be cured. The Portuguese who had charge of the island, immediately went aboard the admiral to offer his service, and was gratified with a present of some provision, which was extremely acceptable, as they live very miserably on that barren soil. Columbus being desirous to know by what means the leprosy was cured in this place, he told him, that the recovery of the diseased was effected by the temperature of the air, and feeding upon tortoises, with the blood of which they likewise anointed themselves externally. Hither these animals repair in vast numbers from the African shore, to lay their eggs in the sand, during the months of June, July, and August, and are easily caught by being turned on their backs while they are asleep. This is the only employment or exercise used by these wretched lepers, who have no other sustenance; and there is neither tree nor spring on the island, so that they are obliged to drink the water of certain pits, which is brackish and unpalatable.

The charge of the whole spot is committed to one person, with four men under his directions, who are wholly employed in killing and salting goats to be sent to Portugal. Of these creatures there are such
multitudes

multitudes in the mountains, that in the course of one year, they had sometimes killed to the value of four thousand ducats; and the whole stock were produced from eight goats, carried thither by the proprietor of the island, whose name was Roderick Alfonso.

The admiral, on the 30th of June, sailed for the island of St. Jago, where he came to an anchor next day in the evening, and sent ashore to buy some cows and bulls, as a live stock for his plantation in Hispaniola: but finding he could not be furnished without some difficulty and delay, he would not stay in such an unhealthy place, which was always covered with a thick fog; and sailed on Thursday to the south-west, resolving to continue in that course, until he should be under the Line, and then steer due west, in search of some undiscovered country. He accordingly proceeded, and judging the Caribbee islands were to the northward, he determined to change his direction and make for Hispaniola, being in great want of provision and water. He therefore stood to the northward, and one day about noon, a sailor from the round-top saw land to the westward, at the distance of fifteen leagues, stretching towards the north-east as far as the view could extend. *Salve regina* and other prayers were said by the seamen, and the admiral distinguished this land by the name of Trinity, because three mountains on it appeared at the same time.

Continuing his course due west, without any remarkable occurrences, on the first of August they discovered the continent at the distance of five and twenty leagues; but the admiral mistaking it for another island, gave it the name of *Isla Santa*.

Columbus now proceeded to a more westerly point of land, which he named *del Arenal*, where he thought his boats would not be so much incommoded by the easterly wind which prevails on this coast. In his way he was followed by a canoe with five and twenty men, who stopped within musket shot, calling

ling very loud: as what they said could not be understood, he ordered one of his men to allure them to the ship, by shewing them some little brass basons, looking glasses, and other toys, of which the Indians used to be enamoured: but, this expedient proving ineffectual, he desired one of the men to ascend the poop and play upon the tabor and pipe, whilst others danced around him. The Indians no sooner heard the musick, and saw the gesticulations of the Spaniards, than thinking it a signal for war, they put themselves in a posture of defence, braced their targets, and shot their arrows among them: and the admiral allowed his people to punish their insolence with their cross-bows, which soon compelled the savages to retire; though they went alongside of another caraval, without apprehension, and were civilly treated and dismissed by the captain, who said they were well shaped, and whiter than the inhabitants of other islands, that they wore long hair tied with strings, and covered their loins with pieces of cotton cloth.

After watering his ships at Punta del Arenal, from trenches which in all probability the fishermen had made, the admiral proceeded to another mouth or channel towards the north-west, which he called Boca del Drago, to distinguish it from the watering place he had left, which had the appellation of Boca de la Sierpe. These two mouths or channels are made by the two westernmost points of Trinity Island, and two others of the continent, lying almost north and south of one another. In the midst of the Boca del Drago, where the admiral anchored, is a rock, which he called El Gallo; and through the other the sea ran so furiously to the northward, that it resembled the mouth of some great river. As the ships lay at anchor, they were saluted by an increased stream running northward with an hideous noise, which meeting with another current from the gulph of Paria, swelled up the sea with terrible roaring, to the astonishment

nishment and consternation of the Spaniards, who expected to be overwhelmed. They however suffered no other damage than that of seeing one of the ships drag her anchor, though she was afterwards brought up by the help of her sails. This danger being passed, the admiral weighed anchor, and sailed westward along the south coast of Paria, which he then believed to be an island, and hoped to find a way northward to Hispaniola: but, though the coast abounded with ports, he would not enter any, as all that sea was land-locked, and formed into an harbour by the continent.

On the 5th day of August, while the ships lay at anchor, the boats being sent on shore, found plenty of fruit peculiar to that climate, a great quantity of wood, and some signs of people who had fled at their approach. Sailing fifteen leagues farther down the coast, where he dropped anchor, a canoe with three men came aboard the caraval El Borreo, and being carried to the admiral, were civilly treated, presented with toys, and sent ashore at a place where stood a number of Indians. These no sooner understood the pacific disposition of the Christians, than they came along side in their canoes, to barter with the same sort of things which the Spaniards had bought at other islands: but the people here had no targets nor poisoned arrows, which are peculiar to the Cannibals.

They drank liquor as white as milk, and another of a dusky hue, that tasted like wine made of sour grapes. The men cover their heads and middle with well woven cotton cloths of different colours; but the women here, as well as in Trinity Island, were stark naked; they seemed however, in general, to be more civilized and tractable than the inhabitants of Hispaniola, and were particularly fond of brass trinkets and bells.

As nothing of value appeared among them but a few inconsiderable plates of gold that hung about their

their necks, the admiral ordered six of them to be taken on board, and proceeding to the westward, touched at two other high islands, well inhabited by people, who seemed to be richer in gold plates than those he had left: they said it was produced in other islands to the westward, inhabited by Canibals. They wore strings of beads about their arms, some of them being very fine pearls, which they signified were found in oysters taken to the westward and northward of Paria; and the admiral having purchased some of them, for a present and sample to their Catholic majesties, sent the boats to make further enquiry about this valuable commodity. When the Spaniards landed, they were received in a friendly manner by the natives, who flocked round them, and conducted them to a house, where they were hospitably entertained with victuals, and that sort of wine we have already mentioned. These Indians were of a fairer complexion, opener countenance, and better shape than those the Spaniards had hitherto seen, and wore their hair cut short by the ears, according to the Spanish fashion: they said their country was called Paria, expressed a desire of living in amity with the Christians, and suffered them to return well satisfied to their ships.

Columbus still continuing to sail westward, found the water growing more and more shallow, so that he would not venture to proceed farther in his own ship, but, anchoring upon the coast, sent the small caraval El Borreo to discover whether there was an outlet to the westward among those islands. She returned the next day, with a report that what seemed islands, was one continued continent: the admiral therefore stood to the eastward and passed the streights, which he saw between Paria and the island of Trinity. This passage he effected with great difficulty and danger, arising from three different boisterous currents. He now sailed to the westward along the coast of Paria, and after passing by several

islands, entered on the 30th of August the harbour of St. Domingo, where his brother had built a city, and called it by that name, in memory of his father, Dominic Columbus.

The admiral was by this time almost blind with over-watching, and quite exhausted with fatigue; but now flattered himself with the prospect of enjoying his repose in the bosom of peace and tranquillity. He was however grievously disappointed in this expectation, for he found the whole island in confusion. The greater part of those he had left were dead, above one hundred and sixty miserably infected with the venereal distemper; a great number had rebelled with one Francis Roldan, whom he had left as alcalde mayor, or chief justice; and his chagrine was completed, when he did not find the three ships he had dispatched before him from the Canaries.

After a tedious voyage, in which their provisions were spoiled and Caravajal's vessel greatly damaged, these ships arrived at St. Domingo, where the captains found the admiral returned from the discovery of the continent. He had been informed by his brother of Roldan's revolt, and resolved to send a circumstantial detail of the whole affair to their Catholic majesties. At the same time understanding that the rebels complained of their being detained upon the island, by the want of vessels to reconvey them to their own country, Columbus published a proclamation, giving leave to all who were desirous of returning to Spain, and promising to supply them with free passage and provisions.

At length, after many disputes, it was agreed, that the admiral should deliver to Roldan two good ships, well manned, rigged and victualled, for transporting him and his people to Spain, from the port of Xaragua; that he should issue an order for the payment of their salaries and wages, to the day of their departure, restoring such of their effects as had been seized by his or the lieutenant's order: and that
within

within fifty days from the ratification of this agreement, they should leave the island. Matters being thus compromised, the admiral gave orders for equipping the ships, but, necessaries being very scarce, and the weather extremely boisterous, some time elapsed before they could be brought round to Xaragua, and in that interval, Roldan changed his mind, and taking advantage of the delay, during which he said his people had consumed a great part of the provision that was intended for the voyage, he renounced the agreement and refused to embark. Caravajal, who went to Xaragua with the ships, after having in vain exhorted the rebels to comply with the agreement, entered a protest against their proceedings, and returned with the ship to St. Domingo. He told the admiral, that Roldan still expressed a desire of seeing the affair accommodated, and desired a safe conduct. Columbus, knowing the mutinous disposition of his own people, was extremely solicitous about healing the division, and not only complied with Roldan's demand, but went round with two caravals to the port of Azura, which is near Xaragua. There he had a conference with the rebel chief, in which it was agreed, that the admiral should send home fifteen of Roldan's followers in the first ships bound for Spain; and that he should give land and houses, in lieu of pay, to those who remained; and an act of general amnesty should be published, and Roldan again appointed perpetual judge.

Having adjusted this troublesome affair, the admiral appointed a captain to march a body of men round the island, in order to pacify, reduce and punish the rebellious Indians, while he himself proposed to return to Spain, with his brother the lieutenant, that no cause of animosity might be left in Hispaniola, so as to endanger another revolt. While he was employed in making preparations for the voyage, Alonzo de Ojeda arrived in the island with four ships,

from a cruize, and putting into Yaquimo, not only committed acts of outrage upon the Indians, but by letters began to tamper with some of the Spaniards, who were hardly as yet confirmed in their duty after the late troubles: to these he insinuated, that queen Isabella was in a very bad state of health, and that after her decease, the admiral would find no protection at court, but, on the contrary, must fall a victim to the hatred of Ojeda's kinsman the bishop, the inveterate enemy of Columbus. The admiral being informed of his proceeding, ordered Roldan to march against him with one and twenty men; and accordingly the chief justice came upon him so suddenly, at the house of a cacique, called Haniguaba, that finding it impossible to escape, and being too weak to make any opposition, he went out to meet him, excused his landing, upon pretence of being in want of provision, and declared he had no intention to disturb the repose of the island. He then told Roldan, that he had discovered six hundred leagues to the westward along the coast of Paria, where he found people who fought the Christians hand to hand with such valour, that he could make no advantage of the wealth of the country; that he had brought from thence some skins of deer, rabbits, tygers, and gaaninis; and concluded with a promise, that he would soon sail round to Domingo, and give the admiral an account of his voyage.

Notwithstanding these professions, he sailed to the province of Xaragua, where he seduced a good number of the people who had been in rebellion, by telling them that he and Caravajal were appointed by their majesties, counsellors and checks upon the admiral, and that as he had not been just enough to pay them, they should go under his command, and do themselves justice by force. This wild scheme being opposed by some of the Spaniards, who despised the presumption of Ojeda, a tumult ensued, in which several persons were killed and wounded;
and

and Roldan, who had rejected his proposals, marching a second time against him, he was obliged to take refuge in the ships. The chief justice, perceiving that he was out of his reach, invited him to come ashore and treat of an accommodation, and upon his refusal took his boat by stratagem; so that he was obliged to submit to a treaty, in consequence of which he left the island.

Not long after his departure, another commotion was raised by one Ferdinand de Guevara, who was in disgrace with the admiral, for having been concerned in the late sedition. This man being exasperated against Roldan, who would not permit him to marry the daughter of Canua queen of Xaragua, began to set up for himself, and entered into a conspiracy with one Adrian de Moxica, who had been a chief actor in the first rebellion. These two projectors engaged many people in their interest, and resolved to surprise and murder the chief justice, whom Guevara considered as his greatest enemy, and the chief obstacle to his design. But Roldan, having got intelligence of their design, concerted his measures so well, that he seized the chief conspirators, and being directed by the admiral to punish them according to law, he proceeded to a fair trial; in consequence of which, Adrian was hanged, some others banished, and Ferdinand with a few confederates sent prisoners to La Vega, where the admiral at that time resided.

This example, which was absolutely necessary for the maintainance of peace and subordination, had such an effect upon all degrees of persons, that tranquillity was restored through the whole island; and the Indians submitted without further opposition. About this time, such rich gold mines were discovered, that every man began to dig on his own account, paying to the king one third of what he found; and their labour prospered to such a degree, that one man has been known to gather forty ounces

in one day ; and one lump of pure gold was found, that weighed one hundred and ninety-six ducats.

While Columbus was thus indefatigably employed in appeasing the troubles of Hispaniola, and securing the property of it for their Catholic majesties, he little dreamed what a storm was gathering against him at home. During the rebellion, a number of complaints had been sent to Spain by the malecontents, who represented him as an insolent alien, ignorant of the laws and customs of the Spanish nation, without moderation to support the dignity to which he had been raised, oppressive and cruel in his disposition, and so avaritious, that he not only withheld the pay from the servants of the government, but likewise embezzled the riches of the island. They inveighed still more bitterly against his brother the lieutenant ; nor did Diego escape the utmost virulence of censure. These invectives being spread by the friends of the complainers, and encouraged by many persons at court, who envied the success and reputation of Columbus, such a clamour was raised in Castile, that the king and queen were every day surrounded in the streets, and even in the palace, by people demanding justice against that proud and tyrannic foreigner, who had oppressed so many Castilians, and discovered a mischievous country, to be the ruin and grave of the Spanish gentry. Other methods were taken to influence the favourites at court, who joining the importunities of the people, their catholic majesties were prevailed upon to send an inspector-general to Hispaniola, with a commission empowering him to enquire into the admiral's conduct ; and if he should be found guilty, to send him home, while he should remain governor of the island. The person chosen for this office, was one Francis de Bovadilla, a knight of the order of Calatrava, in very low circumstances, who being furnished with full powers and authority, arrived at St. Domingo in the latter end of August

1500, while the admiral was at Concepcion, with almost all the people of consequence, employed in settling the affairs of that province, where his brother had been assaulted by the malecontents.

The new inspector, finding nobody at St. Domingo who could be a check upon his conduct, took possession of the admiral's palace, and converted his effects to his own use; then assembling all those whom he found disaffected to the brothers, declared himself governor; and, in order to attach the people to his interest, proclaimed a general remission for twenty years to come. The next step he took was to require the admiral's presence without delay; and, to enforce this order, he sent him the king's letter, to this effect.

To D. Christopher Columbus, our admiral of the ocean.

"We have ordered the commendary Francis de Bovadilla, the bearer, to acquaint you with some things from us: therefore we desire you to yield him intire credit and obedience."—Given at Madrid, May 21, 1499.

"By command of their highnesses,

"Mic. Perez de Alaman.

"I THE KING.

"I THE QUEEN.

The admiral no sooner received this letter, than he set out for St. Domingo, to wait upon Bovadilla; who without delay or legal information, sent him and his brother Diego on board of a ship, where they were put in irons, under a strong guard, and entirely excluded from the speech of any person whatever. Then a process was instituted against them, and all their enemies admitted as evidences, who, in their depositions were so malicious, incoherent, and absurd, that no person, who had not been determined at all events to ruin the accused, would have paid the least regard to their allegations. But, so

far was Bovadilla from doing justice on this occasion, that he countenanced the most flagrant perjury, and even encouraged the rabble to insult the prisoners, by reading scandalous libels in the market-place, and blowing horns at the port where the ships lay at anchor. Perhaps the lieutenant, who was not yet returned from Xaragua, might have rescued his brothers by force of arms, had not the admiral ordered him to submit quietly, and surrender himself to the authority of their majesties, now vested in the person of their new governor, who had no sooner secured their persons, and laid strict injunctions on Andrew Martin the captain of the ship, to deliver the admiral in irons to the bishop D. John de Fonseca his enemy, by whose direction he acted, than he began to squander the king's revenues among his creatures, to embezzle the treasure, countenance all manner of profligacy and extravagance, oppress and plunder the Indians, and, in short, destroy the wholesome regulations which had been established.

With regard to the admiral, he declined accepting the favour of Andrew Martin, who being ashamed of his situation, would have knocked off his irons; but he insisted upon wearing them during the whole passage, saying he was resolved to keep them as a memorial of the reward he had obtained for his service. Nor did he ever change his opinion in this particular; for the fetters were always preserved in his own chamber, and buried in the same coffin with his body, at his own request.

On the 20th of November, 1500, he wrote a letter to their Catholic majesties, giving an account of his arrival at Cadiz; and they understanding his situation, gave immediate orders that he should be released, and sent him very gracious letters, in which they expressed their sorrow for his sufferings, and the unmannerly behaviour of Bovadilla, and invited him to court, with promise that he should be shortly dispatched with full restitution of his honour. Accordingly

cordingly on his arrival at Granada, he met with a very favourable reception from the king and queen, who expressed their displeasure against the author of his imprisonment, and promised that he should have ample satisfaction. In the mean time, they ordered his affair to be examined, and the accusation plainly appearing malicious and frivolous, he was honourably acquitted. A new governor was appointed to be sent to Hispaniola, in order to redress the admiral's grievances, and oblige Bovadilla to restore what he had unjustly seized; and to proceed against the rebels according to the nature of their offences. This power and commission was granted to Nicholas de Obando, commandery of laws, a man of abilities, but crafty, cruel, and revengeful, who listened to malicious surmises, and exercised great barbarity upon the natives and their chiefs. At the same time, it was resolved, that Columbus should be sent upon some voyage that might turn to his advantage and keep him employed, until Obando should settle the affairs of Hispaniola. But the admiral being weary of such expeditions, extremely chagrined at the ingratitude of Spain, and apprehensive of future disgrace from the indefatigable efforts of his enemies at court, desired to be excused from embarking again, and would not engage in the enterprize, until he was strongly solicited by their majesties, who assured him of their protection.

It may be observed, by way of digression, that while Columbus was prosecuting his third voyage, Alonzo de Ojeda, whom we have already mentioned, and Americus Vesputius, obtained from the bishop of Burgos, the draughts and plans which, by their majesties order, Columbus had deposited in the hands of that prelate, and who, out of hatred to that great commander, gave them up without the knowledge of the king and queen. The licences he gave were also clandestine. They set sail from Cadiz on the 20 of May, 1499, and steered directly in search
of

of the continent, pursuant to the admiral's scheme, which before this time he had actually carried into execution. This was the first voyage made by Americus Vesputius, and though he now only touched at that part of the continent which had already been visited by the admiral, yet he pretended to discover it; and by confounding this with a voyage he afterwards made into those parts, dressed up a plausible story; and being an excellent geographer and draftsman, imposed upon the greatest part of Europe, and gained the undeserved honour of giving a name to the new world, which is called *America*; when it might with more propriety be named *Columbia*. In Spain, however, he was soon detected; for pretending that he returned directly to that kingdom after a voyage of thirteen months spent in discoveries, Ojeda made oath that only five months were spent in the voyage, and that finding themselves short of provisions, they failed to Hispaniola for a supply.

It was no sooner known that Alonzo Ojeda, and Americus Vesputius had obtained the above licences, than others resolved to make use of the same interest, in order to acquire a share of the riches of the new world: and a company was formed at Seville, the principal of whom was Peter Alonzo Nino of Palos, who was with the admiral when he discovered Paria, and Christopher Guerre of Seville.

Nino having obtained the king's licence, upon condition of his not coming to an anchor, or landing within 50 leagues of any place discovered by Columbus, set sail soon after Ojeda and Vesputius; discovered land, and arrived at the province of Paria a few days after them, where finding the Indians behave peaceably, he, contrary to his instructions, landed and cut Brazil-wood, and then continuing his course, came to what Columbus had called the Bay of Pearls, formed by the island of Margarita, and the continent, and which he had visited in 1498.

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The people here went on board Nino's ships without any apprehensions, carrying pearl necklaces, and wearing jewels in their noses and ears; for which the Spaniards gave them hawks-bells, bracelets, rings, and several trifles made of tin. Having thus purchased a considerable quantity of valuable pearls, the Spaniards passed by Coro, near the province now called Venezuela, 130 leagues below Paria and the Dragon's Mouth; and anchored in a bay where they were well received by 50 men, who came from a place at a league's distance, and very earnestly pressed them to anchor at their town: upon which the Spaniards gave them some toys, and the Indians taking off all the pearls they had about their necks and arms, gave them as many as weighed fifteen ounces.

The next day the Spaniards came to an anchor before a town called Curiana, where the Indians made signs to them to come on shore; but being no more than 33 men, they durst not venture, and therefore by their signs invited the Indians to come on board, which they did in their canoes, carrying pearls which they freely exchanged for toys: by which the Spaniards being convinced of their sincerity, landed and staid twenty days on shore, during which they were courteously entertained with venison, rabbits, geese, ducks, parrots, fish, and bread made of Maize. They perceived that the natives kept markets or fairs; that they had earthen jars, dishes, and other vessels of several shapes, and that in their pearl necklaces they had frogs and other creatures made of gold. They asked by signs where that metal was gathered, and were answered in the same manner, that it was got six days journey from thence, at a place called Curiana Cauchito.

The Spaniards therefore sailed thither, and found that the people were very tractable; for they came on board without the least jealousy, and bartered with them for wrought and unwrought gold, though they

they would not part with their pearls. They also gave them some monkies, and very beautiful parrots of various colours.

Leaving this place they proceeded farther; but as they approached the shore above 5000 naked men came armed with bows and arrows to oppose their landing, and though they strove to please them by shewing them hawk's bells and other things, could not prevail, and therefore returned to Curiana, where they were received with the same satisfaction as before, the Indians now trading with them for pins and needles, which the Spaniards shewed them would be of use in drawing the thorns out of their feet, when they happened to tread upon them. The Indians were highly pleased, thinking they had made very advantageous bargains with the Spaniards, who carried away above 12000 ounces of pearls, some of which were very beautiful and well coloured, and as large as small hasslenuts; but they were ill bored, the Indians having no iron. The Spaniards were now so well satisfied with the success of their voyage, that they resolved to return home, and arrived in Galicia on the 16th of February, 1500, two months after they left Curiana, when Nino and Christopher Guerra, who shared in the expence and profits of the voyage, were accused before the governor, by their own ship's crew, of having defrauded the king of his duty, which was the fifth part.

The great riches which the adventurers gained by this voyage, promoted the spirit of discovery, more especially among such as knew the proposals made by Columbus, or had served under him in his first two voyages. Of these none was so capable of prosecuting them as Vincent Yanez Pinzon. He had a liberal education, great courage, and a large fortune; he therefore fitted out, at his own expence, a squadron of four stout ships, with which he sailed to the Cape de Verd islands, where he took in refreshments, and steered from St. Jago, about the
year

year 1500, first standing to the south and then to the west, and was the first subject of the crown of Castile and Leon that crossed the equinoctial.

But he had hardly passed the line, when he met with a dreadful storm, in which all on board expected to perish: However, having run 240 leagues farther to the westward, they on the 26th of February discovered land at a great distance, which Yanez called Cabo de Consolation, or Cape Comfort *, and sounding, had 14 fathoms water. Captain Pinzon going on shore, took possession of the country in the name of their Catholic majesties, and endeavoured to the utmost of his power, though without effect, to induce the people to trade with him; for the natives being inflexible, and having no good opinion of these invaders, an engagement ensued, in which some were slain on both sides.

This made captain Pinzon resolve to retire and and continue his voyage, which he did to the mouth of the river Maranon, where he observed a mighty struggle between the tide of salt water coming in, and a vast current of fresh water pouring down from the land. The country at the mouth of this river, he found well inhabited on both sides, but not being able to persuade the inhabitants to traffick, he resolved, without farther delay, to proceed toward Paria.

Yanez, on his arrival at Paria, took in Brazil wood, and then struck over to the islands that lay in the way to Hispaniola: but when the ships were lying at anchor, there arose such a dreadful storm that two of the four sunk in sight of the others, with all the men; a third was forced from her anchors with 18 men, and carried out of sight, and the fourth, though she rode it out, beat so furiously, that the sailors believing she would be dashed in pieces, went ashore in the long-boat, and had

* It is now called Cape St. Augustin.

thoughts of murdering all the Indians they found, to prevent their calling in their neighbours to destroy them: but the ship that had been driven to sea with the 18 men returned, and the other which rode at anchor being saved, they sailed to Hispaniola, where they refitted, and returned to Spain about the latter end of September; after having discovered 600 leagues of the coast of Paria.

It is here proper to remark, that Emanuel king of Portugal sending a considerable fleet to the East-Indies*, under the command of Peter Alvarez Cabral, in the year 1500; that admiral sailing to the south-west to avoid the calms on the coast of Guinea, was so happy as to discover Brazil, one of the richest provinces in South America; by mere accident. But it is now necessary to return to the discoveries made by the great Columbus.

The Fourth Voyage of COLUMBUS.

COLUMBUS, after receiving his instructions, set out in the year 1501 for Sevil, in order to superintend the equipment of his squadron, consisting of four small ships, with one hundred and forty men, including boys. All the necessary preparations being made, he sailed from Cadiz on the 9th of May for St. Catherine's, from whence, on Wednesday the 11th he departed for Arzilla, in order to relieve the Portuguese, who were said to be in great distress; but before he arrived, the Moors had raised the siege. He therefore sailed for the Grand Canaria, where he arrived on the 20th, and took in wood and water for the voyage.

* The coast of India had been discovered by Vasco de Gama, in 1498, while Columbus was engaged in his third voyage to the West-Indies. See Vasco de Gama's voyage, in our second volume.

On the 25th, in the evening, he proceeded for the West Indies, and the wind was so favourable, that without having handled the sails, he arrived at the island of Martinico on the 15th of June; and having taken in a fresh supply of wood and water, he stood to the westward among the Caribbee islands. Thence he steered his course for St. Domingo, where he intended to change one of his ships, which was a bad failer, hoping to continue his voyage with more advantage, to the coast of Paria, in quest of the strait which he supposed to be near Veragua and Nombre de Dios. But that the new commendary, whom their majesties had sent to call Bovadilla to account, might not be surprised at his unexpected arrival, he, on the 29th of June, being near the port, dispatched before him Peter de Terreros, one of his captains, to signify the occasion he had for another ship, as well as for shelter against a storm which he foresaw; and on account of which, he desired the commendary would not suffer a fleet that lay ready for sailing to quit the harbour. So little inclined was this new governor to assist the admiral with another vessel, that he would not even allow him to enter the port; and disregarding his advice, permitted the fleet, consisting of eighteen sail, to go to sea without delay, on their return to Spain, having on board Bovadilla, Roldan, and the rest of the admiral's enemies.

But they had hardly weathered the east point of Hispaniola, before they were overtaken by a dreadful tempest, in which their admiral foundered with Bovadilla, and almost all the chief rebels; and of the whole eighteen ships, not above three or four were saved, while Columbus, who pronosticated the storm, sheltered himself as well as he could under the land. On the second day, however, the wind rose to such a pitch of fury, that his other three vessels were forced out to sea; where the Bermuda, the ship he wanted to exchange, must certainly have perished,

perished, had not she been preserved by the admirable skill and dexterity of D. Bartholomew, who was allowed to be the most expert seaman of his time. The ships being thus separated, every one concluded the other was lost, until, in a few days, they met again in the port of Azua, where, upon comparing their observations, it appeared that Bartholomew had weathered the storm by running out to sea, like an able sailor, while Christopher had avoided great part of the danger, by lying close under shore, like a wise astronomer. Indeed the admiral's satisfaction was considerably diminished, by the mortification and chagrin he felt, upon reflecting, that he was denied shelter in that very country which he himself had discovered, and annexed to the crown of Spain. This storm, together with its consequences, furnished his enemies with a pretence for saying, he had raised it by magic; for the destruction of the fleet bound for Spain; and what added more weight to this supposition, the only ship of the eighteen that arrived in Spain, was the *Aguja* or *Needle*, on board of which were 4000 pesos in gold, belonging to the admiral, while the other three, which resisted the fury of the storm, were forced back to St. Domingo in a shattered condition.

Columbus having refreshed his men in the harbour of Azua, sailed to the port of Brazil, which the Indians call *Gracchimo*, to shelter himself from another storm that was brewing; and thence departing July 14th, was becalmed in such a manner, that instead of continuing his course, he was carried away by the current to certain islands near Jamaica, which being very small and sandy, he named *Los Poros*, or the *Wells*; because, for want of fresh springs, he ordered his men to dig pits in the sand, from which they drew water for the use of the ship. Then standing to the southward for the continent, he reached the islands of *Guanara*, near the province now called *Honduras*, where his brother Bartholomew

tholomew going ashore with two boats, found people like those of the other islands, a great number of pine trees, and pieces of lapis calaminaris, which being mixed with copper, some of the seamen mistook for gold, and concealed accordingly. While he remained in this place, he descried a canoe as long as a galley, and eight feet wide, with an awning in the middle, made of palm-tree leaves, not unlike those of the Venetian gondolas; under this cover, the women, children, and all the goods, were sheltered from the weather; and, though the vessel was manned by twenty-five stout Indians, they allowed themselves to be taken without opposition.

Rejoicing at this opportunity of knowing the commodities of the continent, without danger, the admiral ordered the cargo to be examined, and found quilts and shirts of cotton, without sleeves, curiously wrought, and dyed of several colours, together with large sheets, in which the women wrapped themselves; long wooden swords, edged on each side, with flint fixed in a groove, with thread and a bituminous matter, hatchets and bells of copper, with plates and crucibles for melting that metal. The provision consisted of such roots and grain as are used for food in Hispaniola, and a sort of liquor, made of maiz, resembling English beer. They had also a good number of cacao nuts, which in New Spain pass for money, and upon which they seemed to put a great value; for, notwithstanding the consternation with which they were seized, when they found themselves prisoners among such a strange race of men, they never failed, when one of these nuts chanced to fall upon deck, to stoop down and take it up with marks of eagerness and concern, as a thing of great consequence. Nor ought we to omit mentioning their extraordinary modesty, which was so remarkable, that when some of them were pulled on board by their clouts, which gave way, they immediately covered their nudities with their hands, and the women wrap-

ped themselves in their sheets, with signs of shame and confusion. This sense of decorum had such an effect upon the admiral, that he ordered them to be well used, restored their canoe, and gave them European commodities in exchange for those articles of their merchandize which he thought proper to retain: however, he kept one old man called Giumbe, who seemed to be the wisest and chief man of the whole, that from him he might learn some other material particulars of the country, and use him as an interpreter among the other Indians. This office he cheerfully undertook, and faithfully discharged in the course of the voyage, as long as it continued among people who understood his language; and when he could be no longer serviceable, he was dismissed with many valuable presents, as a reward for his fidelity.

The admiral, though informed by this Indian of the great wealth, politeness, and ingenuity of the people who lived to the westward in new Spain, yet knowing as these countries lay to leeward, he could sail thither at any time from Cuba, he resolved at present to persist in his design of discovering the strait in the continent, through which he might penetrate into the South Sea, and reach the spice country; and accordingly turned to the eastward towards Veragua and Nombre de Dios, where he was told this strait would be found. Nor was the information untrue; for the Indians meant a strait of land or isthmus, which he mistook for a narrow gulph extending from sea to sea. In quest of this strait he sailed towards a point on the continent, which he named Casinus, because there he found great plenty of trees, bearing a fruit so called by the natives of Hispaniola; and near this cape he saw people who wore painted shirts or jerkins, and clouts made of cotton, like coats of mail, so strong as to defend them against the weapons used in that country, and even against the stroke of an European sword. But farther to the eastward, near Cape Gracias a Dios, the natives are of a fierce aspect and
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savage disposition, go stark naked, eat human flesh, and fish raw as it is taken; and they make such holes in their ears, as will admit an hen's egg; from which circumstance the admiral denominated that coast, *de Las Orejas*, or, of the Ears. Turning still to windward, on Sunday August 14th, 1502, Bartholomew Columbus went ashore in the morning to hear mass, with the colours, captains, and a good number of men; and on Wednesday following, when they went to take possession of the country for their Catholic majesties, above one hundred Indians, loaded with provisions, ran down to the shore, and on the approach of the boats, on a sudden retired without speaking one word. The lieutenant perceiving their timidity, employed the interpreter to allure them with horse bells, beads, and other toys, which pleased them so much, that next day they returned in greater numbers, with several sorts of provisions, such as hens of that country, which are better than those of Europe; geese, roasted-fish, and red and white beans, resembling the kidney-beans of Spain. The country, though low, was green and beautiful, producing abundance of pines, oaks, palm-trees, and mirabolans, together with every sort of fruit or provision to be found upon the island of Hispaniola. Here likewise were leopards, deer, and other animals. The people were like those of the islands, except in their foreheads, which were not so high; their loins only were covered; they seemed to have no religion, and every nation spoke a particular language of its own. Their arms and bodies were ornamented with different figures, wrought into the skin by fire. The better sort, instead of caps, wore red and white cotton cloths; some had short jumps without sleeves, that reached to their middle, and others had locks of hair hanging down on their foreheads: but on a festival, they painted their faces of various colours, so as to look very terrible and diabolical.

The admiral spent seventy days in sailing sixty leagues from the coast de Las Orejas, to the eastward, because the wind and current were always contrary; but as there was good riding along the coast, he tacked to and fro, and dropped anchor every night under the land; and on the 14th of September, he reached a cape, which he called Gracias a Dios, or Thanks to God, because from thence the land trended off to the south, and he could prosecute his voyage with the trade-wind.

On the 16th, being in want of water, the admiral sent the boats into a river, at the entrance of which was such a rippling, occasioned by the current of the stream, and the wind from the sea, that in returning, one of the boats, together with all her men, was lost; so that it was named, the River de la Desgracia, or of Disaster. Running still to the southward, he anchored on the 25th, near a town called Cariari, and in the neighbourhood of a little island named Quiriviri, which in people, soil, and situation, excelled every place he had yet seen: for the land is high, and abounds with pasturage, rivers, and woods. Cariari is situated near a great river; to the banks of which a multitude of people resorted, some armed with bows and arrows, and others with staves of palm-tree, as black as a coal, and as hard as horn, pointed with the bones of fishes; a third set were furnished with clubs: they seemed to have assembled with intention to defend their country from invasion. But, perceiving the pacific disposition of the Christians, they expressed a desire of bartering their commodities, consisting of arms, cotton, jerkins, sheets, and gauninis, which are pieces of pale gold, worn about their necks like relics. With these articles they swam to the boats; for the Spaniards did not go ashore that day or the next; nor would the admiral allow his people to take their goods in exchange, but presented them with several trinkets, that they might look upon the Christians, as men who despised all mercenary views. The
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less the admiral seemed to regard the traffic, the more eagerness they discovered to trade with him, and made signs from the land, inviting his people to come among them; but these proving ineffectual, they retired, leaving every thing they had received on board in a heap upon the shore, where they were found the Wednesday following, when the Spaniards landed. The Indians, supposing the strangers did not confide in their sincerity, sent down an ancient man, of an awful presence, carrying a flag upon a staff, attended by two young girls, with guaninis about their necks: these, at his earnest request, were conducted by the boat's crew on board the admiral, who ordered them to be clothed, and fed, and sent on shore again, where they were received with much satisfaction, by the old man and fifty natives assembled on the beach.

Next day, the admiral's brother going ashore to learn something of the country, two of their chief men came to the boat, and taking him by the arms, made him sit down upon the grass between them. In this situation he began to interrogate them, and ordered the secretary to write down their answers; but, they no sooner saw the pen, ink, and paper, than they were seized with consternation, and ran away, believing that these were implements of sorcery: for they had performed some ceremonies of exorcism before they approached the Spaniards. D. Bartholomew having quieted their apprehensions, visited their town, where, in a great wooden palace, covered with canes, he saw several tombs, in one of which was a dead body embalmed; and in another two human carcasses wrapped up in cotton sheets, without emitting the least odour: over each of these catacombs was a board, with the figures of beasts carved upon it; and on some of them were the effigies of the defunct, adorned with guaninis, beads, and other ornaments upon which they set a value.

The admiral was so desirous of being better acquainted with the nature of this country, and the manners of the inhabitants, who seemed to be more civilized than any he had yet seen, that he ordered seven to be taken, and of these he chose two that seemed to be the most intelligent, sending the rest away with some presents, and an assurance that their companions were detained for no other reason, than to serve as guides and interpreters along the coast, and that in a little time, they would be certainly set at liberty. Notwithstanding these professions, they imputed the detention to avarice; and next day, a number of them coming down to the shore, sent four ambassadors on board of the admiral, to treat for the ransom of their countrymen, with a present of two wild hogs, which, though small, were very sweet. These deputies were entertained with great civility; and, though he would not comply with their request, sent them away well satisfied, and amply paid for their hogs, one of which was hunted on board by a kind of wild cat, of a greyish colour, caught in a wood by a seaman, after he had cut off one of its fore legs. This animal, which is as big as a small greyhound, leaps like a squirrel from tree to tree, and not only fastens upon the branches with its claws, but even with its tail, by which it often suspends itself, either for rest or sport. The hogs, though naturally very ferocious, no sooner saw it, than they ran about the deck in a fright; and the admiral perceiving their terror, ordered one of them to be brought near the cat, which immediately wound its tail about the hog's snout, and with the foreleg that remained, fastening upon its poll, would soon have made a prey of it, had not the people interposed. From these circumstances it appeared, that those cats hunt like the wolves in Spain.

On the 5th of October, the admiral sailed into the bay of Caravaro, six leagues in length, and above three in breadth, in which are many small islands; and

and between them the ships sail as it were in streets, brushing the trees on each side. The vessels being anchored in this bay, the boats were sent to one of the islands, where the men found twenty canoes, and their people hard by them on the shore, stark naked, with little plates, or eagles of gold about their necks. They expressed no symptoms of fear; but, for three horse-bells, gave a gold plate that weighed ten ducats, and said, there was great plenty of that metal upon the continent, at a very small distance from this place.

Next day the boat's crew went ashore upon the main land, where they met with ten canoes full of people, who, refusing to barter away their plates, two of them were taken, that the admiral might have a chance for acquiring some material intelligence, by means of the Cariari interpreters; and they confirmed what the islanders had said of the gold, which was at the distance of two days journey up in the country. From this bay, the admiral sailed into another hard by, called Aburena; on the 17th he put to sea; and arriving at the river Guaiga, twelve leagues from hence, commanded the boats to be rowed ashore, where they were violently assaulted by above one hundred Indians, who ran furiously into the water up to the middle, brandishing lances, blowing horns, beating drums, and throwing sea-water toward the Spaniards, at whom they likewise spurted chewed herbs, with marks of detestation and defiance. Notwithstanding these menaces, they were appeased by the peaceable behaviour of the Christians, and for a few horse-bells, exchanged sixteen gold plates, to the value of one hundred and fifty ducats. Next day, however, they lay in ambuscade for the boats, and perceiving that nobody would venture to land without security, they rushed into the water, as they had done the preceding day, and even threatened to throw their javelins, provided the boats, that lay upon their oars, would not return to the

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ships. The Spaniards, exasperated at their insolent behaviour, wounded one of them in the arm with an arrow, and at the same time the admiral fired a cannon, the explosion of which terrified them to such a degree, that they fled with precipitation. Then four men landing, invited them to return by signs, in consequence of which they laid down their arms; and coming back, exchanged their plates very peaceably.

Having procured samples of what this part of the country produced, the admiral proceeded to Catiba; and casting anchor in the mouth of a great river, perceived the natives assembling by the sound of drums and horns. They sent two of their number along-side in a canoe, and these having discoursed with the Cariari interpreters, came on board without any apprehension, and gave their plates to the admiral, who in return presented them with some baubles. This canoe was succeeded by another, with three men, who behaved in the same manner. And amity being thus established, the Spaniards went ashore, and found a great number of Indians with their king, who differed in nothing from the rest, but in being covered with one leaf of a tree, because it rained very hard. This sovereign, by exchanging his plate, set an example to his subjects, who bartered to the number of nineteen, of pure gold. Here the Christians saw a great mass of wall, seemingly built of stone and lime; and as this was the first part of the Indies where the admiral discovered signs of structure, he brought away a piece of it as a memorial.

Sailing to the eastward, he passed Cobravo; and the wind blowing fresh, held on his course to five towns of great trade, among which was Veragua, where the Indians said the gold was gathered, and the plates manufactured. Next day he arrived at a town called Cubiga, from which he continued his voyage to another, which he called Porto-bello, or the Beautiful harbour; because it is spacious, populous,

lous, and encompassed by a well cultivated country. He entered this harbour on the 2d day of November, passing between two small islands, within which the ships lay close to the shore: and for seven days, during which he continued here, on account of the rain and bad weather, canoes came constantly on board, with people from the adjacent country, to barter provisions, and bottoms of fine-spun cotton, which they exchanged for pins, points, and other trifles.

On the 9th, he sailed from Porto-bello, eight leagues to the eastward; but, next day, was forced back four leagues by stress of weather; and putting in among the islands near the continent, where now the town of Nombre de Dios stands, called the place *Puerta de Bastimentos*, or the Port of Provisions, because all those small islands were covered with grain. A boat well manned being sent in pursuit of a canoe, the Indians were so terrified, that they leaped into the sea, and escaped, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Spaniards; for when the boat approached any one of them, he dived like a duck, and came up again at the distance of a bow-shot from the place.

Here the admiral continued, refitting the ships, and mending the casks, till the 23d of November; when he sailed eastward to a place called *Guiga*, where the boat's crew being sent on shore, found above three hundred Indians, ready to trade for such provisions as they had, and some small pieces of gold that hung at their ears and noses: but without tarrying in this place, he put into a small port, which he called *Retrete*, or *Retired*, because it could not contain above six ships, and the width of the mouth did not exceed fifteen or twenty paces, though the rocks on both sides appeared above water as sharp as diamonds, and the channel between them was not to be fathomed. The admiral was decoyed into this confined harbour, by the misrepresentations of those who
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were sent to view it, and who gave a favourable account of it, because here the ships must lie close to the shore, so as that they would have the better opportunity of trading with the natives. He lay nine days in this narrow place, to which he was confined by bad weather; and at first the Indians came very familiarly to trade, until they were provoked, by the insolence and dissolute behaviour of the seamen, to acts of open hostility. As their numbers daily increased, their courage rose to such a pitch of resolution, that they came down and threatened to board the ships; and the admiral, having in vain attempted to appease them by patience and civility, found it absolutely necessary to alter his deportment, in order to convince them of his importance. He therefore ordered his people to fire some pieces of cannon, and they answered this noise with shouts, threshing the trees with staves, as if they despised the explosion, which they believed to be the effect of thunder, used to terrify them. He therefore loaded one of the great guns with shot, and pointing it at a number assembled on an hillock, the ball fell in the midst of them, and soon made them sensible there was something more than empty noise: for they instantly fled with such consternation, that for the future they durst not appear even behind the mountains. These people were the best shaped Indians of any he had yet seen; tall and thin, without those prominent bellies, frequent in this country. In this harbour were abundance of very large crocodiles or alligators, that sleep ashore, and emit a musky scent, and are so ravenous, that they will devour men if they can take them at advantage, though they are fearful and cowardly when attacked.

The admiral perceiving, that the violent winds from the east and north-east continued to blow without ceasing, and that he could no longer trade with the inhabitants of this coast, he resolved to return and satisfy himself of the truth of what was reported,
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concerning the mines of Veragua; and therefore, on the 5th of December, sailed back to Porto-bello.

Next day, the wind shifted to the west, but as he did not think this was a settled gale, he bore up against it for some days, during which the weather was so very unsettled and unruly, that the sailors could scarce stand upon deck; for the sky seemed to be sinking in a deluge of rain, the whole air appeared like a furnace of lightning, and the thunder roared so incessantly, that the people mistook it for the firing of guns, as signals of distress. The men, who were constantly wet to the skin, and exposed to these dreadful peals and flashes, began to be terrified, and to despair; especially as the wind shifted in their teeth whenever they endeavoured to make any harbour: and in the midst of this danger and distraction, they were in the utmost danger of being overwhelmed by a dreadful water-spout that rose from the sea to the clouds, as thick as an ordinary butt, whirling about, and dashing with a most tremendous roar. To complete their misfortunes, they lost sight of the ship *Caino*, which they concluded was lost, until they saw her again at the end of three dismal dark days, in which she had been obliged to cast anchor, and afterwards was driven to sea, with the loss of her anchor and boat.

The ships were almost shattered to pieces by the tempest, and the men quite spent with cold, hunger, and fatigue, when they were relieved by a calm that lasted two days; during which they were surrounded by an infinite number of sharks, so greedy, that they would bite at the hook though baited only with a red rag. Many of these were caught, and out of the belly of one, was taken an entire tortoise, that afterwards lived on board; and from another, the whole head of a shark which we had cut off and thrown into the sea: so that the individuals of this species seem to prey upon one another. Though some of the people looked upon them as ominous fish, and all allowed
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they furnished a very indifferent meal, yet the sailors ate them with great eagerness: for by this time they had been eight months at sea, and consumed all their provision, except the biscuit; which, from the heat and moisture of the climate, was so full of maggots, that many delayed eating till it was dark, that they might not see the vermin they were obliged to swallow.

On the 17th, the admiral entered an harbour, three leagues east of Pennon, which the Indians call Huiva, and there permitted his men to repose themselves for three days; during which, they perceived the inhabitants lived in huts, built upon the tops of trees, a strange custom, which must have been owing to their fear of wild beasts, land-floods, or enemies of their own species; for all along that coast, the different nations are at war with one another. From this harbour or bay, he sailed on the 20th; but no sooner was he at sea, than the tempest began to rage again, and he was driven into another port: from whence he took his departure on the 3d, the weather being somewhat more moderate. But as if Providence had resolved to thwart the expedition, the wind freshened and became contrary, so that he was bandied about, to the astonishment and terror of every person on board, until he made the harbour where he had been before, on the 12th of the same month. Here he staid from December the 26th, till the 3d of January, when, having repaired the ship *Gallega*, and taken on board a sufficient quantity of Indian corn, wood, and water, he sailed back toward *Veragua*, with contrary winds and foul weather. Indeed, he was so perplexed and fatigued with currents, tempests, and unfavourable gales, between *Veragua* and *Porto-bello*, that he called it *Coita de Contrastes*, or the Coast of Contention.

Two days after, he cast anchor near a river which the Indians called *Yebra*, and the admiral *Bethlem*; because he arrived on the feast of the Epiphany. To the

the westward of this was the river of Veragua, the water of which was very shallow, but the boats went up to the town where the gold mines were said to be. At first the Indians stood upon their guard, and threatened to oppose the landing of the Spaniards; but an Indian interpreter going ashore, and giving a favourable account of the Christians, they were appeased, and bartered away twenty gold plates, some hollow pieces, like joints of reeds, and some grains that never were melted, which they said they had gathered a great way off, upon uncouth mountains.

On the 9th of June, the admiral's ship and the Biscayna went up the river Bethlem, and the Indians came to exchange such things as they had, particularly fish; which at certain times of the year, come from the sea up these rivers in incredible numbers: they likewise bartered some gold for pins, beads, and hawks bells. Next day they were joined by the other two ships, that could not come in the preceding day, for want of water at the river's mouth. On the third day after their arrival, Diego Bartholomew went up the river with the boats, to the town of Quibio; so the Indians call their king; who hearing of the lieutenant's design, came down in his canoes to meet him, and they received each other in a very friendly manner. Next day, he went on board to visit the admiral, who made him some presents, and he retired very well pleased, after a conversation that lasted a whole hour, during which his people exchanged some gold for bells, and other toys.

On the 24th, the river suddenly swelled to a surprising pitch, and rushed down with such impetuosity, that the admiral's ship parted her cable, and running foul of the Gallega, brought the fore-mast by the board, and both vessels were in great danger of perishing. This sudden rise of the river, was supposed to proceed from some terrible shower that had fallen upon the mountains of Veragua, which were
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named St. Christopher's, because the tops of them reached above the clouds.

On the 6th of February, the ships being caulked and refitted, Diego Bartholomew, and sixty-eight men, were sent in boats to the river of Veragua, and rowing up, arrived at the cacique's town, where he staid a whole day, inquiring the nearest way to the mines: in consequence of the intelligence he received, they travelled four leagues and an half; and next day, arriving at the place to which they were directed, gathered some gold about the roots of trees, which were very thick, and of a prodigious height. As the sole aim of this journey was to get information concerning the mines, they immediately returned to the ships, very well pleased with the sample: though, as they afterwards learned, the mines from which they had picked it were not those of Veragua, which lay much nearer, but of Urira, a town belonging to a people at war with Quibio, who had directed the Spaniards to his enemy's mines instead of his own.

On the 14th of February 1503, Diego Bartholomew, with fifty men, followed by a boat, marched to the river of Urira, seven leagues westward from Bethlem, and next day were met by the cacique, attended by twenty men, who presented him with provisions, and some gold plates were exchanged. Having rested a while in this place, the Christians were conducted to the town, where they were hospitably entertained with victuals and lodging; and, soon after their arrival, visited by the cacique of Dururi, a neighbouring town: he was attended by a great number of his people, who brought some plates to exchange, and told the lieutenant, that up the country there were caciques who had abundance of gold, and a great number of men armed like the Spaniards.

Next day Diego Bartholomew sent back twenty men to the ships, and with the other thirty, proceeded

ceeded towards Zobabra, where he saw above six leagues of ground full of maiz, and cultivated like corn fields. Here he was kindly entertained by the natives, as well as at another town, called Cateba, where he purchased some plates: but having now advanced a great way from the ships, without finding any harbour along the coast, or river larger than that of Bethlem, where he could conveniently settle a colony, according to the intention of the admiral, he returned with a good quantity of gold, to the place from which he had taken his departure, and in which a resolution was now taken, to make a settlement, with eighty men under his command. Proper dispositions being made, they began to build houses; about a cannon's shot from the mouth of the river Bethlem, the materials being timber, and the thatch consisting of the leaves of palm-trees that grew along the shore. Several pieces of cannon, with powder, provision, and other necessaries, were lodged in a large magazine erected for that purpose; while a quantity of wine, biscuit, oil, vinegar, cheese, and grain, was deposited on board of the ship *Gallega*, to be left with cordage, nets, hooks, and other fishing-tackle, for the use of the colony. Indeed these last could not fail of being signally useful, in a country that abounds with such quantities of fish. The natives took them with hooks made of tortoise-shell, which they cut with a thread. Among others, the sea produces a very small fish, called titi, which fly up to the surface of the water, where they are caught in little matts, or small nets, and being wrapped in leaves, are dried in an oven, so that they may be kept for a long time. They likewise catch abundance of pilchards, which being pursued by other fish, will leap two or three paces upon the dry land; though they are also taken in another manner. In the middle of their canoes, from stern to stern, the Indians raise a partition of palm-tree leaves, two yards high, and plying about the river, make a noise by beating the

the shore with their oars, so as to frighten the pilchards, which, mistaking the leaves for land, leap upon them in great quantities, and fall into the canoe. Besides these, they take great numbers of other fish, that pass along the coast in shoals, and bake them, as already observed. As for liquor, they have plenty of a very palatable kind of beer made of maiz; and agreeable wine, made of the juice and pith of a certain kind of palm-tree, as well as of a fruit that resembles a pine apple.

Every thing being completed for the maintenance of the new colony, the admiral resolved to return to Spain without further delay; when his voyage was effectually retarded, by want of water to carry him out of the river, as well as by the terrible surf that beat upon the shore, threatening immediate destruction to any vessel that should approach it. This circumstance was the more unfortunate, as the rains, which alone could swell the river, were past, and the bottoms of the ships worm-eaten through and through. To complete the disaster, it was casually discovered by means of an interpreter, that Quibio intended to set fire to the houses of the Christians, who had made a settlement in his dominions, contrary to the inclinations of him and his people. In this dilemma, the admiral concerted measures with his brother, for taking the cacique prisoner, together with his principal men, and carrying them to Spain as hostages for the good behaviour of his subjects. Accordingly on the 30th of March, the lieutenant, with above seventy men, proceeded to the village of Veragua, consisting of straggling houses; and at a small distance from it, received a message from the cacique, desiring he would come up to his house, which stood by itself on a hill: notwithstanding this intimation, he resolved to go up with five men only, after having ordered the rest to follow, two and two, at some distance, and when they should hear a musket fired, to beset the house, that nobody might escape. Quibio meeting him

him at the door, was immediately seized by the lieutenant, and the musket being fired, the rest of the Spaniards surrounded the house, in which were about thirty persons, who seeing their prince taken, made no opposition. But as they were conveying the cacique on board, he contrived to jump out of the boat into the river; and as it began to be dark, it was impossible to hear or see how he went ashore: so that after a fruitless search, they were fain to row on board of the admiral, overwhelmed with shame and vexation.

Next day the lieutenant, finding it would be impracticable to overtake the fugitive Indians, returned with his men to the ships, and presented the plunder of Quibio's house, worth three hundred ducats in plates and eagles, to his brother; who, having deducted the fifth part for their catholic majesties, divided the rest among those who went upon the expedition.

The colony being now settled under proper regulations, and the river swelled by the rains, Columbus ordered his ships to be lightened, and towed by the boats over the bar, on which all the three struck, though without receiving much damage. They then took in every thing they had been obliged to unstow, and lay waiting for a fair wind to sail for Hispaniola, from whence the admiral proposed to send supplies to his new settlement. In this interval, the boat providentially went ashore, and contributed to the safety of many Spaniards, who otherwise must have fallen a sacrifice to the resentment of the Indians: for Quibio no sooner perceived the ships at sea, than he resolved to attack the settlement; and the woods, by which it was surrounded, facilitated the enterprise. But the lieutenant, who was a man of great resolution, sallied out upon the enemy, and seven or eight of his people following his example, soon compelled the savages to retire into the wood, just as the boat reached the shore: though not before they had killed a Spaniard,

and wounded seven, among whom was the lieutenant himself. Repeated attacks of this nature however continued to reduce their numbers and to dispirit the survivors.

Mean while the admiral waited ten days for fair weather, that he might send ashore the only boat that remained, for intelligence; and in this interval, some of the prisoners who had been confined in the hold, burst open the hatches in the night, and leaped into the sea, and the rest being disappointed in their hopes of escaping in the same manner, hanged themselves in despair; so that now he had no hostages, by virtue of whom he could make peace with Quibio. The weather still continuing boisterous, and the people being extremely impatient to learn the fate of their companions, Peter de le Desma, a pilot of Sevil, undertook to swim ashore, provided he might be carried in the boat to the place where the surf began to run high. His proposal being embraced by the admiral, was put in execution; and he swam off again with a circumstantial account of what had happened, including a detail of divisions and dissensions among the men: for Diego Bartholomew found it impracticable to maintain authority and subordination, and they were unanimous in nothing but their resolution to leave the place. They therefore begged the admiral would take them on board without delay, otherwise they would put to sea in their own vessel, rotten as she was, and rather trust to the mercy of the waves and weather, than expose themselves to the barbarous resentment of the savages. In consequence of this information, Columbus resolved to stay and take them on board; and the weather becoming more favourable, they came off, with all their goods and effects, in his boat and some canoes lashed together; so that in two days nothing was left behind but the hulk of the ship, which was so much eaten by the worms, as to be unfit for service.

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The whole company being thus re-assembled, to their mutual satisfaction, the admiral sailed along the coast to the eastward, contrary to the opinion of all the pilots, who thought he might have reached St. Domingo, by bearing away to the north: but he and his brother knew it was requisite to ply up to windward, before they could strike across the gulph that divides the continent from Hispaniola: and as he consulted his own judgment in this particular, the men began to murmur, from an apprehension, that he intended to sail directly for Spain, although he had not provision sufficient for such a voyage. At Portobello he was obliged to leave the ship *Biscaina*, which was so leaky and worm-eaten, that she could not proceed; and turning up along the coast, he passed Port Retrete, together with abundance of small islands, which he denominated *las Barbas*: thence continuing his course ten leagues, he, on the 1st of May, 1503, took his departure from a place on the continent called *Marmora*, and stood to the northward, the wind and currents setting from the east.

The pilots and navigators on board affirmed, that he was to the eastward of the Caribbees, but he himself was apprehensive, that he should not be able to fetch Hispaniola, and this fear was verified: for, on the 10th, he descried two very small low islands, which he named *Tortugas*, from the abundance of turtle found here, and in the neighbourhood; and on the 12th, after a run of thirty leagues northwards, arrived at the islands called *Jardin de la Reyna*, that lie ten leagues to the southward of Cuba. By this time, the ships being leaky and crazy, the men were harrassed at the pump, though little able to support such fatigue, because their provisions were now reduced to a little biscuit, oil, and vinegar; and in this melancholy situation, they were overtaken by a dreadful storm, in which the ship *Bermuda* ran foul of the admiral, and both had like to have foundered: however, they got clear of each other with much difficulty, and

dropped all their anchors, though it was the sheet anchor alone that brought them up ; and in the morning there was but one strand of the cable uncut, so that if this had given way, they must have perished upon the sharp rocks.

The wind being abated, he sailed to an Indian town on the coast of Cuba, called Mattaia, where having purchased some refreshments, as the winds, currents, and condition of the ships would not permit him to bear up for Hispaniola, he stood over to Jamaica, pumping and baling all the way. Yet, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, the water rose up almost to the deck ; and when day appeared, he put into an harbour called Puerto Bueno, but finding no fresh water in this place, he steered to the eastward into another, called Santa Gloria, which is enclosed by rocks, where finding it impossible to keep the ships afloat, he ran them ashore along-side of each other, and propping them up on each side, so as to keep them upright, ordered sheds to be made on the poop and forecastle, under which the men might be secure from the inclemencies of the weather, as well as the attempts of the Indians. This expedient he chose rather than that of fortifying himself on shore, because he should be more able to restrain his seamen from irregularities, which might have incensed the natives, on whom he entirely depended for subsistence, his own provisions having been either spoiled or consumed. As the natives resorted in great numbers to the ships with what they had to barter, he appointed two persons to superintend the market, and prevent abuses or frauds of either side, as well as to divide the purchase equally among the people, that nothing might be embezzled or engrossed. His regulations were alike agreeable to his own men, who were plentifully supplied ; and to the Indians, who exchanged two little animals like rabbits, which they called hutics, for a bit of tin, and cakes of their bread named zabi, for two or three glass beads, though
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for a quantity of any thing, they received a hawk's bell; and a cacique or great man was sometimes presented with a small looking glass, red cap, or pair of scissars.

These necessary steps being taken, the admiral's next care was, to consult with his officers about the means of transporting themselves to Hispaniola; and, after mature deliberation, it was resolved, that two canoes should be sent thither, with an account of the misfortune which had happened to the admiral, and a letter to the governor, desiring that a ship might be sent immediately to his relief. The canoes being chosen for this dangerous expedition, James Mendez de Segura, the admiral's chief secretary, embarked in one, with six Christians, and ten Indians to row; and Bartholomew Fiesco, a Genoese gentleman, went on board of the other, with the like number of hands; this last having orders to return immediately with the news of their safe arrival, while Mendez should continue his route over land to St. Domingo.

In a little time after the departure of these canoes, the men who were left began to grow sickly, in consequence of the fatigue they had undergone, and the change of provision; and (which is the case on all such occasions) a spirit of discontent diffused itself among them. They now caballed and murmured in private against the admiral, saying, he had no intention to return to Spain, where he was in disgrace with their catholic majesties; nor could he have any hopes of assistance from Hispaniola, the governor of which had already refused him shelter in his distress: and lastly, they suggested that Mendez and Fiesco were both lost, otherwise the latter would have returned by this time, according to his promise. For these reasons, it was their business to consult their own safety, by leaving the admiral, who was now lame in all his limbs with the gout, and follow their companions to Hispaniola, where

they would be the better received by the commendary Lares, on account of their having abandoned Columbus, whom he hated. These arguments were suggested and encouraged by two brothers, called Porras, who assured them of protection on their return to Spain, from the bishop D. John de Fonseca, as well as from the treasurer Morales, by whom their sister was kept as a concubine: and such effect had the insinuations of these ringleaders, one of whom was captain of the ship Bermuda, and the other comptroller of the squadron, that eight and forty of the men were persuaded to follow them at all events, and to provide themselves with every thing necessary for the execution of their purpose.

On the 2d day of January, captain Francis de Porras, whom they had chosen for their leader, ascending the quarter-deck, where the admiral lay confined to his bed, "What is the reason, my lord, (said he) that you will not return to Spain, but keep us in this place to perish?" To this insolent interrogation, Columbus, suspecting the conspiracy, very calmly replied, That he did not see how they could return to Spain, until they should be assisted with a vessel from Hispaniola; that no man was more desirous than he to be gone, as well on account of his own private interest, as for the safety of his people; and that, for their satisfaction, he would again summon all his officers to consult about the means of gratifying their inclination. This judicious remonstrance had no weight with Porras, who said, it was now no time to talk; for that he should either embark immediately, or stay there by himself: then crying with a loud voice, "I am going to Spain with those that will follow me," all his adherents joined in the exclamation, and immediately took possession of the fore-castle, poop, and round-tops, so that uproar and universal confusion ensued. The admiral, though lame in bed, hearing the noise of this tumult, started up in order to quell the mutiny, but was with-held by

by his servants, who were afraid that he would be murdered by the conspirators. They likewise disarmed and confined his brother Diego Bartholomew, who had bravely rushed out upon the mutineers, with an half pike in his hand, and entreated Porras to be gone, without doing further mischief, or making any attempt upon the life of Columbus, for which they could not fail of being one day severely punished. He did not think proper to regard this caution, but seizing ten canoes which the admiral had purchased from the Indians, embarked with all his followers, who expressed as much joy as if they had been already landed in Spain. Upon this occasion, a good number of the rest, who were not concerned in the combination, seeing themselves abandoned by their fellows, and despairing of relief, desired to be taken on board, to the infinite sorrow and mortification of the admiral, and those few who remained with the sick. In all probability, had the people been in health, he would have been deserted by the whole company, except his brother, and his own faithful servants. The mutineers in the canoes rowed towards the east part of Jamaica, from whence Mendez and Fiesco had taken their departure, and in the way committed all manner of outrages upon the poor Indians, advising them to apply for redress and repayment to the admiral, who was the cause of all the injuries they sustained, and to put him to death in case he should refuse to give them satisfaction: for his design in staying, was no other than to subject and involve them in such misery and oppression as he had already entailed upon the inhabitants of the other island.

Having in this manner done their endeavours to embroil the admiral with the natives, they began their voyage for Hispaniola, with some Indians, whom they compelled to go on board every canoe as rowers. They had not made four leagues from land, when the wind, which was contrary, began to freshen, and

the sea to rise; they shipped some water, and being unacquainted with the methods of managing those vessels, resolved to lighten them, by murdering the Indians, and throwing their bodies into the sea. This inhuman scheme was executed on some, and the rest leaping over-board, swam until they were weary; then hanging by the canoes to breathe a little, the barbarous ruffians cut off their hands; so that eighteen of those poor wretches perished in this deplorable manner; and not one would have escaped, had not they kept a few to steer them back to Jamaica, as they now thought it impracticable to prosecute their voyage. When they landed, a council was held, in which some proposed to take the advantage of the easterly wind and currents, for running over to Cuba, from whence they could have a short cut to Hispaniola: others were of opinion, that they should return, and make peace with their admiral, or deprive him by force of the commodities and arms that were still in his possession: but by a majority of voices it was agreed, they should wait for a calm, and put to sea again directly for Hispaniola. For this opportunity they tarried a whole month, during which they ravaged the whole neighbourhood of Aramaquique, which was the name of that town and district, and having made two unsuccessful efforts to perform the voyage, marched by land to the westward, plundering the defenceless natives and the weak villages in their way.

With regard to the admiral, he exerted all his address and industry to efface the bad impressions which the mutineers had made among the Indians; so that they continued to supply him with provisions, while he employed his care and humanity for the relief of the sick, until almost all his people were recovered: but as the daily expence of subsistence had produced a scarcity among the Indians, who sow very little more than is just necessary for their own occasions, they began to be remiss in their attendance, especial-
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ly as they were already flocked with the commodities of the Christians. They were likewise influenced by the desertion and malicious insinuations of such a number of the Spaniards, who had left their chief in a situation which no longer commanded obedience and respect. In this dilemma, Columbus, with his wonted sagacity, fell upon a very extraordinary expedient for retrieving his character and affairs with those savages. Knowing that in three days there would be an eclipse of the moon, he sent an Indian of Hispaniola, who was on board, to assemble the principal inhabitants of the district, that he might confer with them about an affair that concerned them nearly; and they obeying the summons, he told them by his interpreter, he and his people were Christians, and believed in God, who created the heaven and earth, protected the righteous, and punished the wicked; and therefore would not permit the rebellious Spaniards to pass over to Hispaniola, though he had by his providence conducted Mendez and Fiesco to that island, because the intent of their voyage was laudable; that the same almighty and all-just Being was incensed against the Indians for having neglected to supply his people with provisions, and determined to punish them with plague and famine; as a certain token or presage of which, they would that very night see the moon rise with an angry and bloody aspect, to denote the mischief that would certainly fall upon them.

This prophecy had different effects upon the Indians, some of whom were terrified, while others ridiculed it as an idle story: but when they perceived the moon in reality eclipsed, and perceived the darkness increasing as she rose, universal consternation prevailed among them, and they came running from all quarters, loaded with provision, and entreated the admiral with loud cries and lamentations, to intercede with God in their behalf, that his wrath might be averted, and they would for the future take care to supply

supply all his wants. In consequence of this promise, Columbus said he would use his influence with God, and accordingly shut himself up, while they remained without, howling, and imploring his assistance. When he perceived the eclipse beginning to go off, he came out of his cabin, bade them be of good cheer, for he had prayed in their favour to God, who had forgiven them, on their promise of being kind and hospitable to the Christians : and, as a testimony of his forgiveness, they would speedily see the moon lay aside her wrathful countenance, and shine with her former splendour.

His prognostic being verified, they praised the God of the Christians, and ever after continued to provide plentifully for the subsistence of the admiral and his people : for though they had formerly seen such eclipses, they did not think it was possible to foretel them, without an immediate correspondence with the Deity, and therefore considered Columbus as a particular favourite of heaven.

Eight months having elapsed since the departure of Mendez and Fiesco, of whom there was not yet the least intelligence, the people began to be dejected, supposing the messengers had either perished at sea, or been killed by the Indians of Hispaniola, in their way to St. Domingo. These fears were confirmed by the information of the natives, who said they had seen a canoe overfet, driven upon the coast by the current. These apprehensions increased every day, and at last produced a second conspiracy, at the head of which was one Bernard, an apothecary of Valencia, who, with two companions, called Zamora and Villatoro, formed a scheme for deserting from the admiral in imitation of the other mutineers ; but the execution of this project was prevented by the arrival of a vessel sent by the governor of Hispaniola. The captain, whose name was James de Escobar, having come to an anchor near the wrecks, visited the admiral with compliments from the commendary, who being unprovided with a ship sufficient

cient to carry off such a number of men, had sent a cask of wine and two fitches of bacon in a present; and these being delivered, Escobar, without waiting for a letter, weighed anchor, and departed that same evening. Though Columbus was extremely mortified at his abrupt behaviour, he affected to say that the caraval had sailed by his directions, because, she being too small to convey the whole company, he was resolved to stay for a larger vessel, in which they might all embark at once. This declaration had such an effect upon the conspirators, that they postponed their enterprize: but the truth was, Lares, governor of Hispaniola, being apprehensive that the admiral, upon his return to Spain, would be reinstated in the government of that island, had sent Escobar to reconnoitre his situation, and see whether or not he might be easily destroyed. By this caraval, however, Columbus received certain intelligence of the safe arrival of Mendez and Fiesco, at Hispaniola, and did not doubt but that he should be relieved in consequence of their remonstrances.

They had embarked from the easternmost point of Jamaica, and continued rowing and paddling two days, during which they sustained extremity of heat, thirst, and fatigue; for their fresh water was almost expended the first day, and some of the Indians actually died for want of refreshment. When the second day elapsed without their seeing land, they began to suspect they had not taken the right course, and universal despondence ensued: but their hopes were revived, when they saw the moon rise over land, which was a small island called Nazabazza, at the distance of eight leagues from Hispaniola. Thither they rowed with their utmost efforts, and next morning going ashore, found it a barren rock, without tree, shrub, or sprig; nevertheless, they took up plenty of rain water from the holes of the rocks, and some of them drank to such excess, as produced dropsies, and other dangerous distempers. Having rested
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and refreshed themselves with such things as they could pick up along shore, they went on board in the evening, and steered their course to the nearest land of Hispaniola, which was Cape St. Michael, where they arrived in the morning. Fiesco, having reposed himself two days, would have returned to the admiral according to his promise, but neither sailors nor Indians would accompany him in the voyage, so that he was obliged to desist. As for Mendez, though he laboured under a quartan ague, which was the effect of his sufferings at sea, he set out immediately for Xarague, and gave an account of the admiral's situation to the governor, who, after much importunity, gave him leave to go and purchase a ship at St. Domingo, which afterward sailed to Jamaica, from whence the admiral sent her to Spain, with packets for their catholic majesties, containing a detail of his voyage.

Columbus, still willing to compose all differences, sent a messenger to the mutineers under the two Porras, inviting them to return to their duty, and comforting them with the hope of a speedy voyage to their own country; inasmuch as he had received the promise of being relieved, by a caraval from Hispaniola, which had brought him a present of bacon and wine; part of which he sent them, as a confirmation of the truth of what he asserted. Their ringleaders dreading the consequence of a re-union, used all their art and eloquence in dissuading their adherents from embracing the terms proposed; and their suggestions succeeded so well among their followers, that the messenger was dismissed, after having been told that they would peaceably depart for Hispaniola, provided the admiral would supply them with a vessel for that purpose; or, if he had but one, assign one half of it to them for their own convenience, and in the meantime, give them an equal share of the cloaths and commodities that were still in his possession; otherwise

wife they would come and take the whole by force of arms.

This threat they actually resolved to put in execution, and marched down to an Indian village within a quarter of a league of the wrecks : and the admiral being informed of their design, detached fifty men well armed, under the command of his brother, who had orders to expostulate with the rebels, and refrain from acts of hostility, unless he should be first attacked. Diego Bartholomew, having reached a rising ground within bow-shot of the mutineers, sent a message to their captain, desiring a conference ; but this condescension was treated with contempt, as the effect of fear, and they immediately fell upon his men in great confidence of victory ; six of the boldest having taken an oath to fight their way directly to the lieutenant, whose death they believed would soon disconcert his followers. However, they were disappointed in their expectation ; for, at the very first charge, five of the six were slain, and among these the two first persons who drew their swords on board in support of the conspiracy.

As for their leader, Francis de Porras, he was taken prisoner, and his people so roughly handled, that they soon turned their backs, and fled with precipitation ; so that the lieutenant obtained a complete victory, and returned to the ships with a good number of prisoners : he himself being wounded in the hand, and only one gentleman of his side having received an hurt with a spear, of which he afterward died. Next day the fugitives sent a petition to the admiral, imploring his mercy, and promising to submit themselves to his good pleasure ; and he immediately gave them a free pardon, and took them again into his protection : but, in order to avoid future animosities, and a scarcity of provisions on board, he detained Porras in confinement, and appointed a proper person to command and lead them about the island, for the convenience of finding subsistence, in exchange

exchange for commodities, with which they were supplied by his direction.

Among those of the side of the admiral who suffered in the engagement, was Peter de Ledesma the pilot, who swam ashore at Bethlem. This man, having received a number of wounds in the fray, fell over the rocks, and was not found till next day in the evening, when the Indians, to their utter amazement, discovered him alive. His skull was laid open, so that his brains appeared, his arm was almost cut off, the calf of one leg hung down to his ankle, and one foot was sliced from the heel to the toes. Notwithstanding these desperate wounds, he frightened the Indians with curses and threats in such a manner, that they fled from him with the utmost consternation; and his condition being known, the admiral ordered him to be attended by the surgeon; and to the surprize of every one the man recovered and did well.

All dissensions among the Spaniards being thus removed, the Indians grew more cautious of giving offence, and carefully supplied them with provision: and a year being elapsed since the Christians were wrecked upon the island, the ship we have already mentioned, which Mendez bought with the admiral's money at St. Domingo, arrived in Jamaica. Columbus with his whole company, embarking on the 28th of June, set sail for Hispaniola, though the wind and current were contrary, and, after a troublesome voyage, reached St. Domingo on the 13th of August 1504. Here he was received with demonstrations of uncommon civility and regard by the governor, who lodged him in his own house, and fawned upon him with the most abject submissions; though this hospitality was altogether affectation; for he set Porras at liberty, and threatened to punish those who were concerned in apprehending that rebel. When the admiral's ship was refitted, and another hired for the convenience of his friends and followers, he sailed for Europe on the 2d of September, and before he was

two leagues at sea, the mast of the hired vessel coming by the board, he sent her back into the harbour to be repaired, while he himself proceeded on his voyage to Spain.

During the passage, he lost his own main-mast in a storm, and this damage being in some measure repaired by the skill and activity of the lieutenant, (for the admiral was lame of the gout) they were afterward exposed to another tempest, which carried away their foremast, and in that condition the ship arrived at the port of St. Lucar de Barrameda. Upon his landing, he was informed of the death of his generous patroness queen Isabella, which overwhelmed him with concern; for though he was courteously received by Ferdinand, that prince began to think the advantages he had stipulated for himself were too considerable, and accordingly he proposed new terms, which, however, did not take effect: for the negotiation was interrupted by the accession of King Philip to the throne of Castile: and before Ferdinand returned to Valladolid, from whence he had set out to meet his son-in-law, Columbus, oppressed with infirmities and chagrin, yielded up the ghost in that city. His body was afterward, by the king's order, conveyed to Sevil; where it was magnificently interred in the cathedral, and the place distinguished by a monument, on which these words were inscribed:

A Castilia, y a Leon,
Nuevo Mundo dio' Colon.

Which may be thus translated.

To Castile and Leon,
A new World was given by Columbus.

DISCOVERIES of the SPANIARDS,
 From the Death of COLUMBUS,
 To the Expedition of HERNANDO CORTES.

AS the first discoveries in America were made and pursued by the Spaniards, their transactions there have also been more extraordinary in their nature than those of any other nation ; by their insatiable rapacity after gold, and their inhuman measures to acquire it : harassing the natives, ravaging and butchering in the vilest manner where-ever they came. What renders these transactions the more curious, is the circumstance of their discovering and subduing two potent and civilized empires in these hitherto unknown regions ; viz. Mexico and Peru. That we may preserve a connection then in the detail, it will be proper briefly to trace the proceedings of the Spaniards in their new colonies from the death of Columbus, to the time of the expedition against the Mexicans.

Nicholas de Obando, who was governor of Hispaniola at the time when Columbus died, distinguished himself by making draughts of the coasts from a survey which he had caused to be taken, and by dividing the Indians among the Spaniards, who considered them merely as their vassals. Gold was almost their only pursuit, and such quantities of that valuable metal were found, that there were annually melted in the island, more than the value of 150,000 l. sterling ; and yet this treasure was far from enriching or satisfying those who were employed in amassing it.

Juan Ponce de Leon, a Spanish gentleman, who had one of the provinces under his command, being informed by the Indians that St. John de Porto Rico was rich in gold, obtained a licence from Obando for planting a colony in it : and while he was thus employed,

ployed, Obando was recalled, and Don Diego Columbus came as his father's successor, to take upon himself the government of Hispaniola. He brought with him from Spain a new governor for Porto Rico; but Ponce disputing his authority, the young admiral set them both aside, and appointed Michael Cerron governor, and Michael Diaz his lieutenant. However, after this Ponce, by the interest of his friend Obando, procured a commission from Spain, and returning to Porto Rico, easily found pretences for seizing Cerron and Diaz, whom he sent prisoners into Spain, and then prosecuted his design of conquering the island. But though he found this a more difficult task than he had imagined, the poor Indians, at last, notwithstanding the kindness with which they had treated him, were entirely enslaved, and at length extirpated. Soon after which Ponce de Leon was deprived of his post; for Cerron and Diaz, presenting a petition to the court of Spain, and being strongly supported by Columbus's interest, were sent back in order to possess their former employments. Ponce being thus reduced to the state of a private man, fitted out two ships for making new discoveries, and on the 2d of April 1512, fell in with land unknown to the Spaniards, in the latitude of $30^{\circ} 8'$, and believing it to be an island, named it Florida, from its beautiful appearance, and many pleasant groves, or from his discovering it on Easter Sunday, which the Spaniards call Pascha Florida, it being the finest season for flowers.

The island of Porto Rico is 120 miles in length and 60 in breadth; its northern coast is in 18° degrees of latitude, and its southern in 17° . The country consists of a pleasing variety of hills and valleys, woods and meadows, abounding in all the tropical fruits, and well watered with springs and rivers; but like other countries within the tropics, it has periodical rains and storms, and sometimes hurricanes between Midsummer and Michaelmas.

About this time Alonzo de Ojeda, who had served under Christopher Columbus, petitioning for a patent for making new settlements, obtained the promise of a grant of all that had been discovered on the continent : but Diego Nicuesa, a man of greater wealth, interposing, stopped the grant, and obtained half of it for himself. The court allowed the former all the country between Cape de la Vela and the gulph of Darien, under the name of New Andalusia ; and the latter, the country from that gulph, to Cape Gracias a Dios, under the name of Castilla del Oro, or Golden Castile : without any mention being made in these grants of Diego Columbus, to whom those countries of right belonged, on account of their being discovered by his father.

Each of these adventurers fitted out two vessels, with which they sailed to St. Domingo in Hispaniola, where they quarrelled about their respective rights ; but their disputes being at length adjusted, they left that island in the latter end of the year 1510. Ojeda took on board Francis Pizarro, who afterward conquered Peru, and in a few days arrived at Caracari, since called Carthagena, where the Indians were prepared to oppose him, on account of the injuries they had received from several Spanish adventurers ; who, under the pretence of trading with them, had basely seized, carried off, and enslaved several of the natives.

These people were of a large stature, the men wore their own hair down to their ears ; that of the women was very long, and both sexes were very expert at shooting with the bow. Ojeda immediately sent them a few priests, with some of the Indians of Hispaniola who spoke their language ; these messengers had orders to persuade them to be peaceable, and submit to the Spanish yoke, to leave off their idolatry, cruelty, and other vices ; though Ojeda resolved, in case they proved obstinate, not only to make war upon them, but to make them slaves.

Ojeda began to barter with them for gold, with Spanish toys; but finding they were preparing to attack him, he fell upon them; made a great slaughter; took some prisoners, and found a small quantity of gold in some of the towns of which he made himself master. He then marched four leagues within land, where, being divided into small parties, they were every where cut off with flights of poisoned arrows. Ojeda and another were the only persons who escaped, all the rest, amounting to seventy Spaniards, being slain.

Happily for Ojeda, Nicuesa now appeared with his two vessels on the coast, and was no sooner informed of what had happened, than he sent for his rival, and generously told him, that in this case they ought to forget their disputes, and only to remember that they were Spaniards and gentlemen, and that he would therefore revenge his loss. They accordingly united, and landed 400 men, marched against the Indians, burnt the town of Yarbaco, seized a vast number of prisoners, and as much gold as amounted to 7000 pieces of eight to each of the commanders.

After this victory they parted, in order to pursue their separate plans. Ojeda fixed a settlement on the eastern promontory of the gulph of Darien, and gave the town the name of St. Sebastian; because that saint being said to be martyred by the poisoned arrows of the infidels, he thought him a fit patron to defend him from the like weapons of the Indians. But finding that the natives were exasperated at his making a settlement on the coast, he sent captain Enciso in one of the ships to Hispaniola, with orders to bring him as large a supply of men and provisions as possible, and in the mean time drew intrenchments about the town, for his own security. However, as he soon wanted necessities, he was obliged to make excursions into the country, by which means many of his people were

killed by the poisoned arrows of the natives; the colony was reduced to a most wretched condition; and notwithstanding the arrival of considerable succours and reinforcements, they were soon again reduced to the utmost distress by war and famine. Hunger frequently forced them out, while the natives constantly drove them back with the loss of some of their men: but from this terrible distress they were relieved by the dexterity and presence of mind of a very extraordinary man brought by Enciso.

Nunez or Nugnez de Balboa, a person of good family, great abilities, and a liberal education, had formerly sailed along that coast with Bastidas, and had afterward obtained a good settlement in Hispaniola; where having committed some irregularities, he was in danger of being put to death. In these unfortunate circumstances he caused himself to be put on board Enciso's ship in a bread cask, and after having remained there some days, ventured at last to make his appearance, when the ship was an hundred leagues at sea. The captain, who had been ordered not to carry any offenders out of the island, was extremely vexed at seeing him, and threatened to set him on shore in the first desert place he came to; but the principal persons on board interceding for him, Enciso was at last pacified, and granted him his protection, which however did not efface, from Nunez's memory, the usage he had received.

This person, observing that the company were in despair, and knew not how to act, endeavoured to encourage them, by maintaining that they were not in so desperate a condition as they imagined; observing that when he was upon this coast before, with Bastidas, they sailed to the bottom of the gulph, where they saw a very large town, situated in a fruitful soil, and in a fine climate: that it was indeed inhabited by warlike Indians; but as they did

not

not make use of poisoned arrows, he advised them to get off their stranded brigantines, and endeavour to sail thither.

This advice being approved, was immediately followed; and they sailed to the river called by the Indians Darien, where having viewed the place, they found every thing according to his description. The inhabitants and their cacique, being informed that the Spaniards were coming, secured their wives and children, and with 500 men waited for the invaders on a little hill: but the Spaniards fell upon them, soon put them to flight, and then proceeded to the town, which to their great joy was full of provisions. The next day they marched up the country and the neighbouring mountains, and found many houses; but no inhabitants, they being all fled. They however seized vessels, household goods, short petticoats of cotton, great quantities of cotton, both spun and unspun, and about 10,000 pieces of fine gold.

The success of this enterprize gained Nunez much reputation, and he began to be in very high esteem. It was now unanimously agreed to settle a colony there, and to call it *Santa Maria el Antiqua del Darien*, or St. Mary the Ancient of Darien. The first being the name of a church at Seville, and the latter the Indian name of the river.

Nunez now secretly contrived in concert with his friends, to depose Enciso; who himself soon forwarded this scheme, by giving orders that no man should trade with the Indians for gold, upon pain of death; which raising a suspicion that he intended to monopolize the trade of that valuable metal, they threw off all subjection to him, alledging that his authority was expired, as they were out of the limits of Ojeda's government. They now chose magistrates like those in Spain; Nunez de Balboa and Zamadis were elected Alcaldes, and Valdivia was appointed Regidore; but soon disliking this form

of government, new debates arose, which were terminated by the arrival of Roderic Henriquez de Colmenares with two ships, with provisions, military stores, and 70 men on board.

This officer, who was carrying supplies to Nicuesa, had put into a port at 50 or 60 leagues distance from this place, and sending his men on shore to take in water, they were suddenly attacked by 70 Indians, who wounded 45 of his people with their poisoned arrows, and flaved the boat. The Spaniards however swam to the ships, though all of them died of their wounds, except one. Seven of the Spaniards however hid themselves in a great hollow tree, in order to swim to the ship at night; but those on board supposing they had been slain, set sail for the bay of Uraba, or Darien, in search of Nicuesa. Colmenares meeting no body on the east side of the bay, where he expected to have found either Ojeda's or Nicuesa's men, he was much surprized, and suspected that they were all dead: he however caused some pieces of cannon to be fired, and fires to be lighted on the tops of the rocks, which being observed by the settlement at Santa Maria, they made signals, upon which he came to them, as we have already related; and generously distributing his provisions among them without distinction, brought them to agree to send for Nicuesa, in order to make him their governor.

We shall now return to Diego Nicuesa, who, after his leaving Alonzo de Ojeda, whom he had so generously assisted, met with a violent tempest, when Lopez de Olano, his lieutenant, perceiving the ships separated, formed the design of setting up for himself, and leaving his patron to shift as he could: but this failing, he sailed to Veragua, the place of rendezvous, where he endeavoured to persuade the people to abandon their original design, and to return to Hispaniola, alledging that Nicuesa, and the men on board with him, had doubtless perished.

perished. Mean while a shallop entered the port with four men on board, who brought advice that Nicueffa had been stranded upon the coast; and having marched a great way with incredible fatigue, was now on shore with his followers in a most miserable condition. At hearing this news Olano's heart relented, and he immediately dispatched the shallop with provisions and refreshments, which saved Nicueffa and his men from perishing with hunger: but this seasonable relief did not in the least soften that governor's resentment against his lieutenant, whom he put in irons, and threatened to send him in that condition to Spain.

Nicueffa now settled a colony on the banks of the river Belem or Bethlehem; but soon became in such want of provisions, that leaving only a part of his men there, he sailed with the rest to Porto Bello: when the Indians not suffering his people to land, he was obliged to steer two or three leagues farther to the port called by Columbus, the Bastimentos; and as soon as he entered it cried out, *Pa-remus aqui en il nombre de Dios*; that is, Let us stay here in the name of God; whence the place was called *Nombre de Dios*. Then immediately landing, he began to erect a fortress.

Nicueffa being soon reduced to the same situation as in the former colony, was obliged to send one of his vessels to Hispaniola, to intreat Columbus to grant him assistance; but scarce was this vessel sailed, when that with Colmenares arrived with the above message. This captain was so amazed at seeing Nicueffa and his people lean, ragged and bare-footed, that he could not forbear shedding tears, especially at hearing how many had died, and the great disaster they had sustained; and therefore immediately endeavoured to comfort Nicueffa, by telling him, that the people of Santa Maria desired he would come and govern them; that they possessed a plea-

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fant and fertile country, had plenty of provisions, and were in no want of gold.

Nicuesa, now recovering his spirits, returned thanks to heaven for this unexpected news; but soon forgetting his own miserable condition, and that these people had voluntarily made him an offer of becoming their governor and protector, he was so imprudent as publicly to declare, that he would take all their gold from them, and punish them for landing within the limits of his grant. Nor was this his only error; for being desirous of viewing some islands that lay in the way, he suffered a caraval to sail before him, in which were persons who acquainted the colony with these ungenerous expressions; upon which they changed their resolutions, and resolved not to suffer him to come among them.

Nicuesa having spent eight days among the islands, was greatly surprized on his anchoring at the landing place at Santa Maria, to find many of the Spaniards on the shore; and at his being ordered by one of them, in the name of all the rest, to return to Nombre de Dios, he desired they would hear him, and for that purpose the next day came on shore, when the people attempting to seize him, he escaped by flight. Nicuesa now intreated that in case they would not accept him for their governor, he might be at least admitted as a companion; which they refusing, he begged they would keep him as a prisoner, since he had rather die than go back to starve at Nombre de Dios. But notwithstanding this, they cruelly forced him and 17 of his men into an old rotten bark, with orders to return to the place from whence they came, on pain of being sunk where they were. There is no doubt of their having complied with this inhuman order, but they were never seen afterward.

After the departure of this unhappy man, Nunez de Balboa distinguished himself as a prudent governor; he made great discoveries; was the first European

Peñan who saw the South Sea, and prepared the way for the conquest of Peru. As his history has therefore a close connection with that conquest, we shall place it immediately before our account of that great event; and proceed now to those events which prepared the way to the subjection of the Mexicans.

Though the governments bestowed upon the above adventurers, were so many violations of the just rights of the admiral Don Diego Columbus, he was very much blamed for not endeavouring to assist them to the utmost of his power: and his enemies made use of this complaint at the court of Spain, which always looked upon him with jealousy; and therefore readily listened to any accusation brought against him. Of this the admiral was so sensible, that he left no stone unturned to secure to himself these countries to which he had just pretensions, from the contract made with his father.

Being informed at the beginning of the year 1511, that the court was very desirous of having a colony planted in the great island of Cuba, he resolved to be beforehand with them, and to send a body of men thither under the command of a person whom he could trust: that having a lieutenant there of his own, the court might have no pretence for making a grant of it to any more adventurers, as they had done of that part of the continent discovered by his father, and even of the island of Jamaica; which however he had recovered. For this purpose he made choice of James Velasquez, the wealthiest and most esteemed of all the first Spanish inhabitants in Hispaniola.

Before we proceed it may not be improper to observe, that the province of Guatiaba lying next to Cuba, and the distance between the two points being only 18 leagues; many of the Indians of Hispaniola had passed over in their canoes, and among them a cacique of the province of Guatiaba called Hatuey. He was a man of bravery and prudence, he took as many of his men as possible, and settled on the nearest country

country called Mayci, where he treated the people as subjects, but not as slaves. This cacique, fearing that the Spaniards would one time or other pass into Cuba, kept spies in order to know what was done in Hispaniola. Being at length informed of the admiral's design, he assembled the most warlike of his people, and putting them in mind of the many sufferings they had endured under the Spaniards, told them that they committed these outrages for the sake of a great lord of whom they were very fond, and whom he would shew them. Then taking some gold out of a little palm-tree basket added, "This is the lord whom they adore, him they follow, and as you have already heard, are coming hither in search of him: let us therefore make a festival and dance to him, that when they come he may order them not to hurt us." They accordingly began to sing and dance. At length Hatuey reminded them, that though they should conceal this lord of the Christians in their very bowels, the Spaniards would find him out, and that they should therefore cast him into the midst of the river, which was accordingly done.

The Spanish inhabitants of Hispaniola were no sooner informed that Diego Velasquez was going to plant a colony in Cuba, than many of them resolved to accompany him, and about 300 men assembled in the town of Salvatierra de la Zavana, at the extremity of Hispaniola, in order to embark on board four ships. From thence they sailed in November 1511, and landed at a port called Palina, in the territories of the cacique Hatuey, who stood on his defence, taking advantage of the woods where the Spaniards could make no use of their horses. After two months spent in this manner, the Indians concealed themselves in the thickest parts of the forests; but whenever they appeared they were hunted like wild beasts by the Spaniards, who carried all they took to Velasquez, when that commander distributed them among his men. Hatuey withdrew into the most inac-

inaccessible places; but at length had the misfortune to be taken and carried to Velasquez, who had the cruelty to cause that unhappy cacique to be burnt alive: upon which all the province of Mayci submitted; for after this inhuman example of severity, none of the Indians dared to oppose him. Velasquez now began to think of dividing the native Indians among the Spaniards, as Obando had done by those in Hispaniola, and for that purpose he founded a town at an harbour in the north side of the island, at a place called by the natives Barracoa, and here the first colony in the island was settled.

On its being known in Jamaica that Velasquez was in Cuba, many of those who were with Juan de Esquivel, Columbus's lieutenant, asked leave to go over and serve under him; among whom was Pamphilio de Narvaez, a gentleman well born, who brought 30 archers under his command, and having a graceful person and an easy address, was well received by Velasquez: he sent him with his 30 men to the province of Bayamo, a fine open country at fifty leagues distance. On the road he and his small party were attacked in the night at an Indian town, by a considerable body of the natives; but mounting a mare which he had brought with him, they were so frightened at the sight of that noble animal, and at hearing the bells which at that time were part of the trappings of the Spanish horses, that they fled far into the country: and Velasquez sending a detachment to join Narvaez, he with the greatest ease became absolute master of that province.

The fine and extensive island of Cuba, which is situated in between 20° and 23° north latitude, is upwards of 800 miles in length from east to west, and generally about 70 broad. It lies about 50 miles west of Hispaniola, and 75 north of Jamaica. To the south are a great number of small islands, to which Christopher Columbus gave the name of the Queen's garden, and to the north are a smaller number

ber which Velasquez named the King's Garden. The whole island of Cuba is very pleasant, and more temperate than Hispaniola. On the eastermost point there are mountains of a great height, which extend 90 miles, and through the middle runs a ridge of hills from east to west, from whence very fine rivers and brooks flow down both to the north and the south, through the plain champaign countries which lie on the coast, till after a short course they discharge themselves on each side into the sea. It has many fine harbours, particularly on the southern coast, where there are that of St. Jago in the form of a cross; that of Xaquas, to which the ships pass through a narrow mouth not above a cross-bow shot over, and then turn into the open part, which is about ten leagues in compass. Here there are three small islands, so situated that ships may fasten to stakes fixed in the ground, under shelter of the mountains, and lie safe from the winds blowing from any part of the compass. On the north side are also several good harbours, the best of which is, that now called the Havanna.

When this island was first planted it was so covered with woods that a person might travel near 690 miles under trees of various sorts, and particularly red cedars, out of the trunks of which the natives made canoes able to contain 50 or 60 persons.

After the Spaniards had been settled there some time, they found considerable quantities of gold in the rivers, some of which was very pure. Though the original inhabitants were very numerous, they have been long since destroyed by the cruelty of the Spaniards. St. Jago in the south part of the island is now esteemed the capital; but the Havannah on the north-west, is by far the most considerable place, on account of its trade, and its being the annual rendezvous of the galleons on their return to Spain.

Velasquez having reduced the best part of Cuba,
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and planted several Spanish colonies upon that island, began to be very desirous of shaking off the authority of admiral Diego Columbus, under whom he had hitherto acted. That admiral being now recalled into Spain, opposed this project to the utmost of his power; but he had so little influence at that ungrateful court, that he was unable to carry his point: for though Velasquez was still left accountable to him for the exercise of his authority, yet he was not allowed to recall him without the consent of the crown. This so well answered Velasquez's purpose, that he resolved immediately to execute a project he had long meditated of fitting out ships for making discoveries: and no sooner were his intentions known, than numbers of the Spanish planters, who were grown rich, offered to contribute large sums towards carrying it into execution; among whom was Francis Hernandez de Cordova, a person of great wealth and bravery, who offered to go as captain.

Cordova having fitted out two ships and a brigantine, took 110 soldiers on board, and sailed from the Havanna on the 8th of February 1517. After being twenty days at sea, during which they lay by in the night, they saw land, and from their ships observed a large town at about two leagues from the coast. As they drew near, two canoes full of men appeared; the Spaniards hailed them; and thirty Indians went on board the commodore dressed in jackets without sleeves, and with pieces of cloath wrapped about their waists. The Spaniards gave them meat, wine, and strings of beads; after which the Indians retiring, made signs that they would return the next day with more canoes to carry the Spaniards on shore; seeming much to admire the ships, the men, their beards, cloaths, arms, and every thing they had never seen before.

The next day the Indians returned with twelve canoes, on board of which was the cacique, who cried
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out *Conez cotoche*, or *Come to my house*, from whence that place received the name of Cape Cotoche. The Spaniards then entering their boats and the canoes, took their arms and went ashore, where an infinite number of the natives waited to see them. Cordova even resolved to attend the cacique to his house, in order to take a view of the country: but entering a wood, the cacique gave a signal, and instantly a multitude of men started from an ambuscade in which they had been concealed. They were dressed in jackets of quilted cotton to secure them from being wounded by arrows, and had wooden swords edged with flint, spears, bows and arrows, slings, and targets: their faces were painted of several colours, and on their heads they wore plumes of feathers. These giving a loud shout discharged a shower of stones and arrows, and then rushing on the Spaniards, fought with much resolution, till being disordered by the discharge of the muskets and cross bows, as well as by the sharpness of the Spanish swords, they fled, after having 17 men killed, and many wounded. In this action were taken two youths who afterward became Christians, and were called Julian and Melchior.

The Spaniards now returned to their ships and were pleased at their having found people in many respects different from those they had hitherto seen, and particularly at their having observed houses built with stone and lime, which were the first that had been observed in that part of the world. They now continued their course along the coast 15 days, and then entering a bay, landed in order to take in fresh water, of which they were in want. This place being by the Indians called Quimpeche, it from thence obtained the name of Campeche. They here filled their casks with fresh water, and were going to return to the ships when they were met by 50 Indians dressed like those they had seen before, who asked them whether they came from the place where the sun rises: and conducted them to some temples built with stone, where the Spa-

Spaniards observed several deformed idols, with blood fresh spilt. From one of these temples came two men in white mantles, with long black hair twisted up in rolls behind, and holding in their hands little earthen fire-pans into which they cast a certain gum, and then perfuming the Spaniards, ordered them to depart the country on pain of death: at which they retired in good order to the shore, and returned to their ships.

They now steered six days along the coast, and then landed at about a league's distance from a town called Potanchan, where they filled their casks with water; and observed a body of armed men advancing toward them; but it growing dark, they returned back towards the town. The Spaniards now rashly resolved to stay on shore; but in the night were greatly alarmed by the noise made by the Indians, and at break of day perceived that the first party had been joined by several others, and that they were entirely surrounded by a great army. They however resolved to make the best defence in their power, and were quickly under the necessity of exerting all their courage: for it no sooner grew light than the Indians discharged a shower of arrows, darts, and stones, by which about 80 Spaniards were wounded, among whom was Cordova. But at length after a vigorous defence, the Spaniards finding it impossible to vanquish such numbers, made a furious onset, and breaking through the Indians, ran towards their boats, while the Indians pursued them with hideous cries. The boats narrowly escaped being overset by their crowding into them, and the natives were so eager to attack them, that they ran into the water to wound them with their spears. In this action 47 Spaniards were killed, five died on board the ship, and all the rest, except one, were wounded. It was therefore resolved to burn one of the ships for want of hands; and to return to Cuba.

One of their greatest misfortunes was their having been obliged to leave their casks on shore, which occasioned their soon being in great distress for want of water; and some of the soundest of the men being landed with jars to search for a fresh supply, could find none but what was brackish: this obliged them to steer for Florida, where one of the pilots had been with Ponce de Leon. They here landed near a creek, and having posted centinels, dug pits; and finding good water, drank some, and washed linen for the wounded men: but when they were about to return, one of the centinels having stepped aside with a hatchet to cut down a palmetto tree near the creek, the other heard him cry out, and instantly ran to give the alarm, crying, *To sea! to sea! the Indians are coming.* Many canoes were instantly seen rowing down the creek, filled with Indians cloathed in deer skins, and armed with bows and arrows, swords and spears, who landing let fly their arrows, and wounded six of the soldiers: but soon perceiving the dreadful effects produced by the muskets and cross-bows, they ran back to their canoes; on which the Spaniards returned with safety to their ship. The men were in such distress for want of water, that a soldier leaping into the boat, seized a jar, and drank so much that he swelled and died two days after. In short, after enduring many other hardships, they arrived at the Havannah, from whence Cordova sent a particular account of his unfortunate voyage to the governor Diego Velasquez, and died of his wounds ten days after.

Notwithstanding Cordova's ill success, his account of this voyage gave great pleasure to Velasquez, who frequently declared that he was resolved to pursue these discoveries as soon as an opportunity offered: since as these Indians seemed more civilized than the others, they were probably richer. And his resolution was no sooner known, than several of the principal inhabitants offered him their assistance, which soon enabled him to send out three ships and a brigantine.

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This small squadron, which was commanded by John Grijalva and the Captains Alverado, Montejo and d'Avila, who had strict orders to make what discoveries they could, but to attempt no settlements; sailed from Cuba on the 8th of May, 1518, and having visited Florida, and discovered the island of Cozumel, sailed along the coast of the continent. Eight days after, they reached Potonchan's town, and came to an anchor; upon which the natives being elated with their success in driving Cordova's men out of the country, took up arms, to hinder the Spaniards from landing: but being routed, the Spaniards marched to the town, where they found only three of the natives, who being well used, were sent with some toys to allure the inhabitants back; but as they did not return, the Spaniards reembarked and set sail.

Grijalva now continuing his course by day, and lying by in the night, for fear of falling among flats and rocks, discovered the mouth of a large river; but so shallow it would only admit small vessels, and therefore they could only send up two, and their boats well manned; who were obliged to proceed with great circumspection, on account of there being many armed Indians in canoes along the shore.

This river, which the natives called Tabasco, the Spaniards named Rio de Grijalva, from their commander in chief, and landed at a grove of palm-trees about half a league from a town. The Indians seeing them leave their boats, about fifty canoes, full of armed men, moved forward, and stopped again at a small distance from the Spaniards; upon which the latter sent Melchior and Julian, the two Indians taken by Cordova, to inform them that they were come with no other view, but to treat with them about some affairs that would give them pleasure. Upon this the Indians in four canoes drew near, and Grijalva ordered the above interpreters to tell them, that he and his men were the subjects of a great King to whom mighty princes paid obedience; that it was reasonable

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they also should submit to him, because it would be much to their advantage ; and that till the Spaniards could explain these affairs, they must furnish them with provisions. To this the Indians prudently replied, That they would give them provisions ; but that they had a lord of their own, and knew no reason why they, who were but strangers, should offer to impose a new lord upon them. However that they ought to take heed how they made war on them, as they had done on the people of Potonchan ; for they had provided an army, which according to their manner of computation must amount to 24000 men. That they knew they had killed and wounded above 200 at Potonchan ; but that they were not so weak as those people. They concluded with observing, that they were come thither to know their will, and would make a very just report of what was said to a number of very great men, who were assembled either to treat of peace, or to renew the war. Grijalva then gave them strings of beads, looking-glasses, and other things, charging them to bring back an answer, because if they did not, he must go to the town, though he should not do it any harm. Having thus concluded the conference, he returned to the ships.

These persons having delivered the message, all the chiefs, who were usually consulted in martial affairs, thought peace preferable to war, and immediately sent a number of Indians loaded with roasted fish, poultry, bread, and several sorts of fruit. These being delivered, they laid some mats on the ground, and placed upon them several sorts of very beautiful feather works. After which they let the Spaniards know, that their lord would come the next day to pay them a visit.

Accordingly at the time appointed the cacique appeared, attended by many unarmed men, and without shewing the least jealousy, went on board Grijalva's ship. That commander was a genteel man, of about 28 years, and had on a loose coat of crimson velvet, a

cap of the same, with other rich ornaments. He received the cacique with respect, and sitting down, they began their discourse, through the medium of interpreters. After some time, the cacique ordered an Indian to take out of a trunk he carried, some plates of gold, and thin boards covered with the same metal for armour. These the cacique himself tried upon Grijalva, taking off those that did not fit, and applying others, till he had put him on a compleat suit of gold armour that fitted him as well as if it had been made for him. He also presented him various works in gold and feathers. In return Grijalva called for a very fine shirt, and with his own hands put it upon the cacique, as he also did his great coat of crimson velvet. He then put on his feet a pair of new shoes; and gave him some of the best strings of beads and looking-glasses, with scissars, knives, and several toys made of tin, some of which he also gave to all the cacique's attendants. The cacique's present to Grijalva was worth about 3000 pieces of eight, and among the rest were a wooden head-piece covered with thin plates of gold, and three or four masks, some of which were covered with a sort of stones like emeralds. The sight of these things made the Spaniards very eager to settle in a country that produced such vast wealth.

Grijalva having received this considerable present, and being sensible that the Indians were not willing that their guests should stay long, proceeded farther, and in two days came to a town called Agualunco, which the Spaniards named Le-Rambla, where the inhabitants appeared at a distance, with targets of tortoiseshell, which glittering in the sun, made some of the Spaniards fancy they were of gold.

Sailing from hence, the Spaniards saw several other rivers, in one of which they observed the Indians waving large pieces of white cloth fastened to poles, as if inviting them to land: whereupon Grijalva ordered Captain de Montejo to go on shore with all the

musketeers, and twenty other soldiers, and that in case the Indians appeared in a warlike posture, he should give notice, in order that succours might be sent him.

It is necessary to observe, that this coast was part of the great empire of Mexico, and that Motezuma, who was then seated on the throne, having heard of the exploits of the Spaniards, and the pains they took to become acquainted with the maritime parts of his empire, began to grow uneasy, and longed to know why they took such pains to learn the state of countries that did not belong to them. To obtain this intelligence, he had given directions to the governors of some of these provinces to entertain these strangers civilly, to seize every opportunity of trading with them, and to send him from time to time such an account of their motions, as might enable him clearly to discern what opinion he ought to entertain of them, and in consequence of these instructions the Indians made signals to invite them on shore.

As soon, therefore, as Montejo and his men were landed, the Mexicans offered them fowls, bread, and fruit, and perfumed the Spaniards by burning gum copal in little fire-pans. Montejo instantly sent advice to Grijalva of the friendly manner in which he was received, upon which that commander came up with the ships, landed, and gave the people some glass beads and necklaces. He was treated with great respect by the emperor of Mexico's governor, and his principal officers, who ordering the Indians to bring gold to barter, the Spaniards, during the six days they staid there, purchased gold toys of several shapes, to the value of 15,000 pieces of eight.

At length Grijalva, having made presents to the principal persons, and taking possession of the country for the king of Spain, in the name of Diego Velasquez, embarked and touched at several islands, and having landed in one of them, with 30 soldiers, found a temple in which were several idols, and four men dressed

ressed in long black mantles and hoods, who were the priests of the temple, and had that very day sacrificed two boys who were found ripped open, and their hearts taken out; a piece of cruelty which struck even the Spaniards with horror. To this island, which was called Ulua, Grijalva gave the name of St. John Baptist, but it has ever since been called St. John de Ulua, to distinguish it from St. John de Porto Rico.

Grijalva having staid seven days at this island, during which he bartered for a small quantity of gold, he sent Velasquez an account of his discoveries by Alverado, with all the gold and other things they had obtained from the Indians. Velasquez was greatly pleased with the account he received; but Alverado having been very desirous of settling a colony, gave him very ill impressions of Grijalva, who had served him faithfully, and paid the strictest regards to his orders.

In the mean time Grijalva, by the advice of the other captains and pilots, coasted along in sight of the mountains of Tulsá, and afterwards sailed to the mouth of the river Tarala, to which he gave the name of St. Anthony, and there careened one of the ships that was leaky. While they were here many Indians came from a town at a league's distance, with bread, poultry, and other provisions, which they sold for Spanish toys: and the news of this traffic being soon spread abroad, others came from Guazacoalla, and the rest of the neighbouring towns, bringing provisions, and very bright copper-axes with painted handles; the Spaniards thinking these axes were gold, purchased 600 of them, and the Indians would willingly have parted with more.

While the Spaniards were here, a soldier entered a temple that stood in the fields, whence he took the incense called by the Indians Copal, the sacrificing knives, and some idols, which he delivered to the commander in chief, after his having first taken off

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their carvings, pendants, plates, and crowns of gold, worth about 90 pieces of eight; but not being able to conceal his joy at obtaining this booty, Grijalva was informed of what he had done, and ordered every thing to be taken from him; but afterwards restored them to him again, upon his paying the fifth to the king.

From this place Grijalva set sail for Cuba, and in 45 days arrived at the port of Matancas in that island, with the value of 4000 pieces of eight in gold, besides what had been brought by Alverado. In this port Grijalva received a letter from the Governor, ordering him to hasten to the port of St. Jago, and to inform the men that another fleet was fitting out, in order to make a settlement. Grijalva obeyed this summons; but on his arrival at St. Jago, met with a very cold reception from Velasquez, who gave the command of the fleet to Hernando Cortes, which brings us to his celebrated expedition.

T H E

Conquest of MEXICO,

B Y

HERNANDO CORTES.

Hernando Cortes was born at Medelin, a town of Estremadura, in Spain; and being bred to a military life, he determined to push his fortune in the West-Indies, whither he sailed in the year 1504, with letters of recommendation to his kinsman Don Nicholas de Obando, who was at that time governor of Hispaniola. This gentleman entertained him very kindly, but his favours could not divert his inclination to arms, and that island being now possessed by the Spaniards, without any opposition from the natives, he desired leave to serve in the island of Cuba, where the war was still carried on. Arriving there, he so far distinguished himself, as to obtain the reputation of a valiant soldier and able commander; on which account he was made Alcalde, or chief magistrate of the town of St. Jago, a post generally conferred on those who distinguish themselves in the conquest of those countries. Cortes was in this situation when he was recommended to Diego de Velasquez, governor of Cuba, as a proper person for making conquests on the continent; and the governor giving his approbation, a commission was instantly signed, by which Cortes was appointed Captain-general of the

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fleet,

fleet, and of the countries he should discover and subject to the Spanish dominion.

His nomination to this post was greatly resented by all who had flattered themselves with the hopes of obtaining it. Mean while Cortes employed his own fortune, and all the money he could borrow, in the purchase of provisions, arms, and ammunition, and enlisted soldiers, with such expedition and success, that within a few days he had above 300 men in his service, and having equipped ten small vessels from 80 to 100 tons each, they sailed from the port of St. Jago de Cuba, on the 18th of November, 1518, and coasting along the island, arrived at the port of La Trinidad, where he was joined by several persons of distinction, who resolved to follow his fortunes. But he had no sooner left St. Jago, than his enemies prevailed on Velasquez to revoke his commission: of which Cortes being informed, he consulted his friends and adherents, who declared with great warmth, that they would stand by him to the last extremity. He then took such measures as appeared most proper for removing the jealousy of Velasquez, and promoting his own security; and having sent Pedro de Alverado with a party of soldiers by land to take care of the horses, and raise recruits in the settlements, he sailed with the fleet for the Havannah. But in the night, the Capitana, in which Cortes embarked, separated from the rest, while the other vessels continued their course to the port of Havannah, where the people were kindly received by Pedro de Barba, the governor under Velasquez. However, having staid several days, without hearing any news of Cortes, they concluded he was lost, and began to deliberate about choosing another commander, but were prevented by his arrival, when he was received with the loud acclamations of his men, and treated with great respect by the governor.

During his stay in this place, he caused a number of cotton jackets to be made, to defend his people from

from the darts and arrows of the Indians; they being found more secure than coats of mail. He proved his artillery, and exercised his soldiers. But while he was thus employed, a messenger arrived with dispatches to the governor of Havannah, containing express orders to divest Cortes of his command, and to send him prisoner with a strong guard to St. Jago. Cortes was highly incensed at Velasquez's behaviour, and his endeavouring to ruin an enterprize in which he and his friends had embarked their whole fortunes: he therefore resolved to provide for himself, and to make use of force if it was necessary; he even explained his situation to his soldiers, and they raised such a tumult, that the governor of Havannah dreading the consequence of their resentment, publicly declared, that he did not intend to execute the orders he had received from Velasquez, which he considered as a flagrant act of injustice. This commotion being thus appeased, and a brigantine added to the fleet, Cortes divided his men into eleven companies, delivered instructions to his officers, and after a solemn mass, at which all the soldiers assisted, weighed and set sail from Havannah on the 10th of February, 1519, with a favourable gale: but the sun was no sooner set than a furious storm arose, which damaged the fleet. Cortes had before sent Diego de Ordaz, whose fidelity he had suspected, to Guanicanico, a settlement on the other side of Cape St. Antonio, and a little before the storm, he sent Pedro de Alverado in quest of him, with orders to wait for the fleet at Cape St. Antonio; but Pedro perceiving that the tempest had driven him so far into the gulph as to render it difficult for him to weather Cape St. Antonio, steered away for the island of Cozumel, where upon his landing he found a small town near the coast, which was abandoned by the Indians, who fled at his approach.

Alverado was a young man of an enterprising genius, but of little experience, and imagining that
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while he waited for the fleet which was to cast anchor at that island, nothing could so ill become a soldier as inaction, he ordered his men to march, and take a view of the inner part of the island. However this expedition was so far from promoting the service in which they were engaged, that it only served to frighten the Indians, and to render it more difficult to obtain their friendship and assistance.

The next day Cortes arrived with the fleet, having sent another vessel with directions to Ordaz, on a supposition that Alverado had been prevented by the storm, and though he was glad to find that young captain safe at Cozumel, he publicly reprimanded him for his rashness, and dismissed three Indian prisoners whom he had taken, after having ordered their effects to be restored, and given them many presents for their cacique, in token of peace and amity.

To prevent any new disputes, Cortes drew down his forces to the sea-side, and having encamped them there for three days, he thought fit to make a general review; when it appeared that his whole army amounted to 508 soldiers including their officers, 16 horse, 2 chaplains, and 109 mariners, and mechanics. On this occasion Cortes made them a speech, in which he endeavoured to animate them with courage, and in the strongest terms, represented the necessity of a strict obedience and unanimity.

He had scarcely ended his speech, when a considerable number of unarmed Indians approached in several detached parties: upon which he drew up his men, and commanded them to remain under arms till their intention was known. The Indians no sooner came in sight, than they continued for some time without motion; but perceiving that no hostilities were offered, they at length boldly advanced, and mingling with the soldiers, presented them with refreshments, and continued to behave with great confidence and familiarity.

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The principal cacique of the island came the next day with a numerous retinue to pay a visit to Cortes, who received him with great courtesy; and while the conversation was carried on by means of an interpreter, one of the Indians was heard to pronounce the word *Castilla*, the meaning of which being demanded by Cortes, he was told that the Indian said, the Spaniards resembled some persons in Yucatan, who came from a country called *Castilla*. Cortes immediately concluded that these were his countrymen, and resolved to set them at liberty. Upon a more particular enquiry he found that they were in the power of some Indians of the highest rank, who resided at Yucatan, and that the most certain method of procuring their liberty would be to offer a ransom: for the cacique informed him, that should he have recourse to arms, it would expose them to the hazard of being massacred by their masters. Cortes approved of this advice, and ordered Diego de Ordaz to sail to the coast of Yucatan, with a letter to the prisoners and some trifles for their ransom, and to stay eight days, in which time some Indians appointed by the cacique for that purpose, undertook to return with an answer. In the mean time Cortes marched with the troops in a body about the island, in order to view the country, and keep his men in action; and in this tour, he was accompanied by the cacique, and a great number of Indians.

At a small distance from the coast stood the temple of an idol that was much revered by the Indians. It was a square stone building, and no contemptible structure. The idol, which was called *Cozumel*, whence the island received the same name, was in the figure of a man, and had a most horrible aspect. Here a great concourse of people were found listening to a priest who was distinguished by a certain ornament or covering, which scarcely concealed his nakedness, and who seemed to preach with great emphasis. Cortes, shocked at the absurdity of such worship, told the cacique,

cacique, that it was impossible for them to continue friends, if he did not renounce his idolatry, and that it was unworthy of a man of sense to pay divine honours to a deformed image fitter to frighten children than to be revered by men of understanding. The cacique replied, that as to religion he left it wholly to the priests, who should, if he pleased, discourse with him upon that subject. This was readily accepted, and one of the priests being sent for, no sooner was informed of the affair in question, than he began with the most hideous outcries to protest against those who should be so audacious as to disturb the worship of their gods, denouncing the immediate vengeance of Heaven against all who should presume to dishonour this deity, or his habitation. But Cortes, without paying any regard to his menaces, immediately ordered all the idols to be broke to pieces, and most of their temples to be demolished. The largest of them, however, he preserved entire, and having caused a neat altar to be erected, had mass said in it by the chaplains and priests, and at his departure charged the cacique to take the strictest care that every thing was kept in good order, and that no insult was offered to the image of the Blessed Virgin, or to two crosses which he erected in that chapel, and this the Indian chief very readily promised.

When the eight days were expired, Diego de Ordaz returned from Yucatan, without seeing any thing of the Castilians, for whom he was sent; Cortes therefore set sail with a fair wind; but was obliged to return the same day, on account of one of the ships having sprung a leak.

While this ship was refitting, Cortes was told, that a canoe was standing directly toward the island, when perceiving that she was full of armed Indians, he ordered Andrea de Tapia to get as much as possible under the shelter of the land, and to endeavour to take the canoe. Soon after four men came out of it with only a slight covering about their waists, and with
bows

bows and arrows in their hands. Andrea de Tapia, as soon as the Indians were landed, advanced toward them sword in hand, when three of them seemed afraid; the fourth bid them not fear, and addressing himself to the Spaniards, cried aloud in the Castillian tongue, *Gentlemen, I am a Christian*. Tapia immediately embraced him with equal joy and surprize, and conducted him to Cortes, who received him with much affection. Cortes having asked the name of the stranger, he replied that he was called Jerom de Aguilar, and was a native of Eija. Meat and drink were then set before him, and he was ordered to be clothed.

The next day Cortes inquired how he fell into the hands of the Indians, when he replied, that being at Darien, he was sent to Hispaniola for men and ammunition; but was cast away near Jamaica, when he and 20 other persons taking to the boat, after suffering great distresses, reached the shore of Yucatan, where they fell into the hands of a cacique who immediately sacrificed six of them to his idols, and then ate them. That he and some others were shut up in a wooden cage, in order to serve for another festival; but breaking out, they fled over the mountains, till they came into the dominions of another prince, who was an enemy to him from whom they had fled. That soon after most of his companions died, and he fell into the hands of a master whom he served for several years, and at length acquired such a degree of favour, that he conferred upon him an employment near his person, and honoured him with his confidence. The cacique, his master, dying, recommended him to his son, under whom he possessed the same office, and afterward being employed in the wars with the neighbouring caciques, obtained such reputation, that he became the favourite both of the prince and people, and therefore on his receiving Cortes's letter, he easily obtained his liberty as a reward for his services.

On the 4th of March 1519, the fleet set sail from Cozumel, and reached the river of Grijalva, where the civil treatment which the Spaniards had formerly received from the Indians of Tabasco, and the gold brought from thence, were such inducements to their landing, as were not to be resisted. Therefore leaving the largest vessels at anchor, Cortes embarked all his soldiers on board the smaller, and in the boats, and was beginning to make the best of his way against the current, when he perceived both sides of the river covered with canoes filled with Indians in arms, supported by a considerable force on shore. When guessing from the horrible out-cries, and gesticulations of the Indians, that they intended to oppose him, he sent Aguilar to them in a canoe with offers of peace, which being rejected, he resolved to punish them for daring to defend their country. But night approaching, he thought proper to wait till the next day.

At day-break, he drew up the vessels in the figure of an half-moon, and advancing slowly to the Indians, sent Aguilar a second time, with proposals of peace, to which they made no answer, but giving the signal for the attack, advanced with great swiftness by the favour of the current, till being near enough to use their arrows, they discharged such a cloud of them, both from the canoes and barks on the river, that the Spaniards were much embarrassed in their endeavours to cover themselves. However, having received the first charge, they assaulted the Indians with such vigour, that the canoes soon left the passage free. The vessels then proceeded up the river without further opposition, and approaching the shore endeavoured to land; but the place being marshy, and covered with brambles, the Spaniards were assaulted by a number of Indians who lay in ambush. However Cortes drew up his men, and ordered Alonzo Davila to advance with a hundred soldiers through the woods, and take possession of the town of Tabasco, which was not far from the place of action. Cortes then

then attacked that vast multitude, and notwithstanding his being obliged to fight up to his knees in mud, he put the Indians to flight; when instantly discovering the march of Davila, they ran to defend the town.

Cortes followed them, and reached Tabasco before the detachment he had sent thither; and found it fortified with a wall formed of large trunks of trees fixed in the ground like palisadoes, with spaces between for the convenience of shooting arrows. It was of a circular compass, and at the closing of the circle the extremity of one line covered the other, forming a narrow winding street, in which were two or three wooden castles which filled up the passage, and were built for placing centinels. This was then a sufficient fortification against the inhabitants of the new world, who were happily ignorant of the methods of destruction practised by politer nations.

Cortes being joined by Davila, soon drove the enemy from their posts, and then breaking down a part of the palisadoes, entered without difficulty. The Indians however made head against the Spaniards in the streets; but being again repulsed, fled in great disorder to the woods, whither Cortes would not allow his men to pursue them.

The Indians had removed their families and effects, and provided for their support by laying in a great stock of provisions. Fourteen or fifteen of the Spaniards were wounded, but the loss of the Indians was very considerable. The troops lodged that night in the town, in which centinels were posted with as much care and exactness as if an army had been in view; but the next day the country appeared deserted, and there was not an enemy to be seen. Cortes however suspected this stillness, and his apprehensions increased, by his being informed that Melchior his interpreter, one of the Indians taken by Cordova, had deserted that very night, leaving his cloaths hanging on a tree.

Cortes

Cortes now sent Pedro de Alverado and Francisco de Lugo with 100 men each, by different ways, to view the country, with orders to retire in case they found an army in the field: but the latter, after a little more than an hour's march, fell into an ambuscade, and would certainly have been overpowered, had not Alverado, who had been obliged to turn out of his way by meeting a marsh, heard the report of the fire-arms, and hastened to his relief, after his having first detached an Indian of Cuba to Cortes, to inform him of this event. Alverado attacked the Indians when Lugo was in the greatest distress, who, though they gave way at first, yet rallied in great numbers; until at length Cortes appeared at a distance, and being observed by the Indians, they dispersed, leaving the Spaniards in the possession of the field, eleven of whom were wounded, of which number two died.

Some prisoners being taken on this occasion, Cortes caused them to be examined separately, by Jerom de Aguilar, when they agreed in declaring, that all the caciques in the neighbouring countries, were marching to the assistance of the inhabitants of Tabasco, and that the next day a powerful army was to be assembled in order to destroy the Spaniards at once. Upon this intelligence Cortes called a council, communicated to his captains what he had learned, and desired their advice: representing the weakness of their naked enemies, and the ill consequences that would attend their turning their backs upon them. Upon which the officers unanimously agreed, that it was absolutely necessary not to leave the country, till the inhabitants were reduced.

Cortes now proceeded to make the necessary dispositions for a decisive battle: he ordered the wounded to be carried on board; the horses to be landed; the artillery to be in readiness; and every thing in order by the next morning. At day-break he gave the command of the infantry to Diego de Ordaz, when he

he and the other commanders mounted on horseback, and kept pace with the artillery, which moved very slowly, from the ground's being boggy, till arriving at a place called Cinthla, about the distance of a league from their quarters, they observed the Indian army appear at a distance, and in such numbers, as to cover the country as far as the eye could reach.

It is here proper to describe the Indian manner of arming themselves, and coming to an engagement; since, as the art of war is nearly the same in all parts of New Spain, this will be sufficient to give the reader some idea of their appearance through the whole of this conquest. Their principal weapons were bows and arrows, the strings of the bows being made of the sinews of beasts, or thongs of deer skins twisted, and their arrows pointed with fish bones. They had a kind of javelins, which they sometimes threw, and sometimes managed like a pike. They had also long two-handed wooden swords, edged with sharp flints; some of the strongest had clubs pointed with flints, and there were slingers who threw stones with great force and dexterity. Their defensive arms, which were worn by none but commanders and persons of distinction, consisted of coats of quilted cotton, breast-plates, and shields of wood and tortoiseshell adorned with plates of metal. The rest of the people were naked, only their heads were encircled with plumes of feathers; and all of them had their faces and bodies painted of various colours, in order to strike terror into their enemies. Their warlike music were pipes made of large canes, sea-shells, and drums made of the bark of a tree, hollowed, which being beaten with a stick afforded a very disagreeable sound: they made their attacks with terrible outcries, to intimidate their enemies, and were equally eager to charge or to run away.

Such was the army, or rather inundation of Indians, which now poured down upon the Spaniards.

Cortes posted his men under the shelter of a rising ground that covered the rear, and having placed his artillery to the greatest advantage, advanced with his fifteen horse to a wood, from whence he intended to fall, and flank the enemy.

When the Indians had marched within a proper distance, they discharged a shower of arrows, and then fell upon the Spaniards with such fury and precipitation, that their fire-arms and cross-bows being unable to stop them, they were obliged to have recourse to their swords; and as the enemy pressed on, the artillery destroyed them by whole companies. But the Indians fought with such bravery, that the ball was no sooner passed than they closed again, drowning the groans of the wounded by their outcries. Cortes, however, with his 15 horse rushing suddenly from the wood, broke through the thickest of the enemy, while they being amazed and terrified at the sight of those unknown animals, threw down their arms and fled with precipitation. Diego de Ordaz being soon sensible that the relief he expected was arrived, from the weak resistance of the enemy's van, advanced with his infantry, till he came to the place where Cortes and his captains had dispersed the enemy, who retreated making a running fight, till the Spaniards pursuing them, they fled in the utmost confusion, leaving above 800 dead upon the spot; the Spaniards had two men killed, and threescore and ten wounded.

The next day Cortes ordered two or three of the Indian officers who were prisoners to be brought before him, and perceiving that their countenances had all the marks of terror, he gave them a courteous reception, and then set them at liberty; giving them some trifling presents, and telling them, he knew how to conquer and how to forgive. This instance of his moderation had such an effect, that in a few hours several of the natives came loaded with Indian corn, fowls, and other provisions, as a present.

sent from the principal cacique of Tabasco, who by these persons made proposals of peace: but Jerom de Aguilar observing that these were mean people, Cortes, though very desirous of peace, refused to admit their proposals, and sent them back without seeing them; ordering them, by his interpreter, to acquaint their cacique, that, if he desired his friendship, he must send persons of greater distinction to solicit it. The cacique, immediately sensible of his error, the next day sent 30 of his principal men, adorned with plumes and jewels, and followed by a train of Indians, who carried another present of the same kind to the Spanish general.

Cortes was afterwards visited by the cacique in person, attended by all his officers, who brought with them a present of cotton cloths, plumes of various colours, and some pieces of gold of admirable workmanship; and the visit passed in protestations of a reciprocal and sincere friendship. The next day the cacique returned, with a present of twenty Indian women, who were skilled in making bread of Indian corn, and dressing other provisions. Among these women was one of uncommon beauty, who was afterwards baptized by the name of Marina, and became Cortes's mistress.

The pilots now hastened the departure of the fleet, and Palm Sunday drawing nigh, Cortes appointed that day for their embarking. The Spaniards accordingly set sail for Mexico, coasting along to the westward, till they arrived at the port now called St. Juan de Ulua, where they had no sooner come to an anchor, between the island and the main land, than two large canoes, called piraguas, came with Indians from the neighbouring coast, and on their drawing near, began to speak in a language which Aguilar did not understand; a circumstance which very much chagrined Cortes. Marina guessing his concern by his looks, told Aguilar in the Yucatan tongue, that the people spoke the Mexican language, and desired audience of the general on the

part of the governor of that province. This woman was the daughter of a cacique of one of the provinces subject to the emperor of Mexico, but in her youth had been carried to a Mexican garrison, on the confines of Yucatan, after which, by some misfortune, she became a slave to the cacique of Tabasco, who made a present of her to Cortes. As this woman was not yet acquainted with the language of Spain, she interpreted to Aguilar in the Yucatan tongue, what the Mexican said, and he imparted it to Cortes in the Castilian. By this double interpretation the general learned that Pilpatoe governor, and Teutile, captain-general of that province, had sent to know with what intention he came upon their coast; when Cortes presenting them with a few baubles, and treating them with some Spanish wine, told them, that he came as a friend to treat of matters of great importance to their prince and the whole empire, for which purpose he would meet the two governors.

The Spaniards landed on Good Friday, and having got their horses and artillery on shore, Cortes directed the soldiers to cut fascines, in order to intrench themselves, and to build a sufficient number of huts to shelter them from the excessive heat of the sun. The people also brought plenty of provisions, and some cotton cloth to cover the buildings erected for the officers: but notwithstanding, Cortes kept himself upon his guard, and planted his artillery in such a manner as to command the country. On Easter-day he was visited by Teutile and Pilpatoe, attended by a very great retinue; he received them with extraordinary state, surrounded by his officers and soldiers. The first compliments being passed, and it being the hour of divine service, he conducted them to a large hut, and ordered Aguilar and Marina to tell them, that before he acquainted them with the design of his voyage, he ought to comply with the duties of his religion, and to recommend
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to the God of all other gods the success of his proposal. After service was over, Cortes returned to his quarters, where the two generals were entertained at dinner, in as splendid a manner as possible; and that being ended, he called his interpreters, and with a determined air told them, that he came to treat with the emperor Motezuma, on the part of Don Carlos of Austria, monarch of the east, on affairs of great importance, both with respect to himself and all his subjects; for this reason it was necessary for him to appear before his royal presence, to which he hoped to be admitted, with all the respect due to the greatness of the king his master.

Cortes's guests appeared alarmed at this declaration, and before they returned an answer, ordered their attendants to bring in the present they had brought with them. Upon which 20 or 30 persons entered loaded with provisions, fine cloth, feathers of various colours, and a large box, in which were several pieces of gold curiously wrought. Then turning to Cortes, Teutile desired him to accept that present from two of Motezuma's slaves, who had orders to entertain such strangers as landed upon his coast: but begged he would not think of prosecuting his design, it being no easy matter to speak with their prince. To this Cortes replied, with some warmth, that kings never refused to hear the ambassadors of other princes, and that their business was to acquaint Motezuma with his arrival, and that he was resolved to see him before he left the country.

During this conference, some Mexican painters who came in the general's train, were busily employed in drawing upon cotton cloths the ships, soldiers, arms, artillery, horses, and every thing else that appeared remarkable, which they introduced into different landscapes that were no way contemptible, either for the drawing or colouring. These pictures were designed by Teutile, to give Motezuma

some idea, of what appeared too extraordinary to be fully described by words; but here and there were placed some characters, which seemed to explain the picture.

Cortes being informed of what these painters were doing, went out to see them, when observing that these figures wanted action to express the valour of his troops, he ordered them to arms, drew them up in a body, and commanding the artillery to be made ready, then telling Teutile and Pilpatoe, that he would entertain them after the manner of his country, he mounted his horse, with his captains, who marched two and two, to the amazement of the Indians, who seeing such stately animals so obedient to their riders, imagined that there was something supernatural in those who could manage them with such ease and dexterity. Cortes then divided his troops into two bodies, gave a mock fight, and at a signal given they discharged their muskets, and soon after the artillery; when the confusion and astonishment of these people were so great, that some fell down upon the ground, others began to fly, and those who had most presence of mind were fixed to the spot with terror and admiration.

Cortes now endeavoured to dissipate their apprehensions by assuring them, that these were only military diversions. The painters immediately began to represent the Spaniards armed and drawn up in ranks; the horses in the attitudes of their exercises, and the artillery with fire and smoke. Mean while Cortes returned to his house with the two generals, and after having made them a present, prepared one for Motezuma, consisting of several polished looking glasses, a holland shirt, a cap of crimson velvet adorned with a gold medal, and a tapestry chair.

Teutile and Pilpatoe at length seeming much pleased with their entertainment, took their leave; but retiring only to a small distance, held a consultation, in which it was agreed that the latter should remain

remain on that spot to observe the motions of the Spaniards. Pilpatoe's attendants immediately began to build houses, and a considerable village was formed in a few hours : but lest Cortes should be offended at this step, he sent to inform him that he staid there, in order to be at hand to provide for his entertainment, and to supply his troops with provisions. Though Cortes guessed his real intention, he took no notice of his suspicions, and Pilpatoe continued to supply him with provisions in great plenty. Mean while Teutile dispatched messengers to Motezuma with an account of what had happened, with the pictures drawn by his order, and Cortes's present.

Motezuma was provided with a great number of couriers, chosen from the swiftest of the Indians, who were distributed along all the principal roads of the kingdom, and rewards were paid out of the public treasury to those who first arrived at the appointed places. These couriers were relieved at every town, which occasioned all dispatches to be carried with surprising expedition, and an answer was returned from Mexico within seven days, though the distance from that city to Juan de Ulua amounts to 60 leagues. Motezuma's message to Cortes was brought by Teutile with that prince's present, which was carried by 100 Indians, and consisted of very fine cotton robes, and many curiosities formed of feathers, where the beautiful variety of the colours was so mixed and disposed by the skill of the artist, that without making use of artificial colours, or of the pencil, they formed curious pictures, and a very fine imitation of natural objects. They also brought a great number of bows, arrows, and targets made of the finest wood ; two large circular plates, the one of gold, representing the sun ; and the other of silver, with the figure of the moon ; and a considerable quantity of precious stones, pieces of gold, gold collars, rings, pendants, and other ornaments

ornaments of the same metal in the shape of birds and beasts, so curiously wrought, that the workmanship seemed to exceed the value of the metal. These several articles being placed in order upon mats made of palm-tree leaves, Teutile turned to Cortes, and told him by the interpreters, that the great Emperor Motezuma had sent him these things in return for his present, and to shew how much he valued the friendship of the king his sovereign; but it was neither convenient nor possible at that time to admit him to his court. Cortes returned thanks for the present, and answered that it was far from his design to be wanting in obedience to Motezuma; but that he could not dishonour a king that was respected amongst the greatest princes in the world, by returning without fulfilling his orders.

Motezuma was at first incensed at Cortes's perseverance in his demand, and in the first transports of his resentment, proposed instantly to destroy those insolent strangers, who presumed to dispute his will; but his rage no sooner subsided, than it was succeeded by sorrow and consternation. He had private councils with his ministers, public sacrifices were offered in the temples, and such marks of disturbance and confusion were visible in his whole behaviour, that the people began to talk without reserve of some signs and presages, that were supposed to be indications of the approaching ruin of the empire.

The empire of Mexico was then in its greatest glory, having under its dominion a prodigious extent of country, governed either by Motezuma in person, or by many petty kings or caciques, who were his tributaries. It extended in length about 1500 miles, in some places it was 600 broad, and it was in general a populous, plentiful and rich country. This empire from a very small beginning had risen to this height of power and greatness in little more than 130 years, during which time the Mexi-
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cans subdued all the neighbouring states. They were at first governed by a military chief; but in the progress of their conquests, they chose a king, and gave the supreme dominion to him who had the greatest reputation for valour, without paying any other regard for hereditary succession, than that of preferring those of the royal family, when they were not excelled by the merit of another competitor.

The emperor Motezuma, the second of the name, and the eleventh sovereign of Mexico, was of the royal blood. In his youth he had distinguished himself in war, and obtained the reputation of a brave general, which, together with his exerting the arts of popularity, had raised him to the throne by the unanimous voice of the people. He had reigned fourteen years when Cortes arrived on his coast, and is represented by the Spanish writers, perhaps to palliate the cruelty of his conquerors, as one of the greatest tyrants recorded in history. Juan Grijalva had landed in his dominions the year before, and it is said that about that time there happened many prodigies which were supposed to presage the ruin of his empire. These signs and portents, some of which were perhaps invented by the disaffected, made a very deep impression on the mind of Motezuma, and disturbed his counsellors to such a degree, that when they received a second message from Cortes, they concluded themselves to be utterly ruined. Motezuma at length resolved to send another present to Cortes, with orders to leave the coast; and in case of his refusal, to levy a powerful army, and to act against him with all his forces.

While Motezuma's court was employed in deliberations, Francisco de Montejo, whom Cortes had sent to examine the coast, returned from his cruise, having found at the distance of some leagues to the northward a town called Quiabillan, situated in a fertile and well cultivated soil, near a bay, where the ships might ride at anchor in safety, under the shelter of
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some high rocks. This place was about twelve leagues distant from St. Juan de Ulua, and Cortes was beginning to think of removing thither, when his resolution was suspended by the arrival of Teutile with the principal captains of his troops, who came burning incense to him in little perfuming pans, and after the ceremony of fumigation, produced Motezuma's second present, which consisted of the same particulars as those of which the first had been composed, though in a smaller quantity, together with three green stones resembling emeralds to be presented to the king of Spain, as jewels of inestimable value. These were delivered with express orders to Cortes and his followers to leave the country without delay; but the Spaniards still insisting that they would see the monarch in person, Teutile started up with marks of anger and confusion, and told Cortes that hitherto Motezuma had treated him as a guest, and it would be his own fault if he was used as an enemy. He then, without waiting for an answer, abruptly departed, and was followed by Pilpatoe and the rest of his attendants.

Cortes immediately ordered the guards to be doubled, and the next day the Spaniards had the mortification to find that the Indians who inhabited Pilpatoe's cabbins were retired; and that there was not an Indian to be seen. The apprehension of their wanting necessaries, now raised a spirit of discontent among the soldiers, which was fomented by some of them who were the friends of Velasquez. Cortes was well acquainted with these murmurs, but learning from his friends that the majority were on his side, he appeared before the malecontents: Diego de Ordaz, in name of the rest, remonstrated with some warmth, that as his forces were very unequal to the design of subduing a mighty empire, it was high time to return to Cuba, where they might be reinforced in such a manner as would enable them to pursue this great design with some probability of success.

Cortes,

Cortes, though highly provoked at this advice, which opposed all his ambitious views, replied with great composure, that he had no inclination to lay the least restraint upon his soldiers, and since they were unwilling to proceed, he would immediately prepare for their return to Cuba. He soon after gave directions for their returning to that island, and ordered the captains to embark with their respective companies, that they might be ready to sail the next morning: but this declaration was no sooner made public, than his emissaries began to exclaim with great warmth, that Cortes had deceived them, by professing that he was resolved to make a settlement in that country, which notwithstanding their unexpected success, he was on the point of deserting, and that if he had a mind to abandon the enterprize, he might, with such as were willing to follow him: for they should soon find another gentleman who would assume the command. This clamour was so artfully managed, that it brought over many of those who had espoused the contrary party, and increased to such a degree, that some of Cortes's friends were obliged to interpose, in order to put a stop to the disturbance they themselves had raised. Cortes agreed to proceed with such as were willing; and to cause a ship to be provided for carrying back those who wanted courage to follow him and his friends. This reply was received with acclamations of joy, and had such an effect, that those who were dissatisfied, carefully concealed their discontent.

The dissension among his men was no sooner quieted, than Cortes was visited by five deputies from the cacique of Zempoalla, a neighbouring province in the road to the place where he intended to remove his quarters; who came to offer him the friendship and alliance of their master. They differed in their habit from the Mexican chiefs, though like them; they had rings in their ears and lips, to which hung jewels. Cortes gave them a very civil reception, or-
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dered them to be well treated, and was greatly pleased at hearing that the Zempoallans, though tributary to Motezuma, were dissatisfied with his yoke, and represented him as a proud and cruel prince; whence he foresaw, that he should be able to engage these people to facilitate his future success. He therefore dismissed the deputies with presents, and with orders to assure the cacique of his friendship, and of his paying him a visit in his way to Quiabisan.

Cortes, in order to divest himself of his uneasy dependence upon Velasquez, and to remove his want of legal authority, laid, in concert with his friends, the plan of a corporation to be established in some place on the continent, and several persons were chosen to fill the offices of government. These immediately appointed a clerk of the council, with other inferior officers, and having taken the accustomed oaths, to act according to the rules of justice, and their duty to God and the king, began to exercise their functions. The next morning the council being assembled, under the pretence of consulting the augmentation and preservation of the settlement to be made, which was to have the name of *Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz*, Cortes desired admittance, to propose an affair relating to the public welfare. He laid open the reasons which induced him to disapprove the commission under which he had acted, then threw upon the table what he had received from Diego Velasquez; kissed the truncheon; delivered it into the hands of the Alcalde, and then retired to his house, in the capacity of a private man. The council, according to a preconcerted agreement, unanimously admitted of his resignation, and with the same unanimity voted that he should be appointed general of the army, and that they would make out a new commission in the king's name, to be in force till they could know his majesty's pleasure.

Cortes accepted of this post with great respect, and began to govern the troops with a kind of authority

thority that secured the obedience of the soldiers. The friends of Velasquez, however, could not disguise their vexation; but resented this alteration in a very indiscreet manner: they endeavoured to invalidate the authority of the council; loudly inveighed against the ambition of Cortes; and began to raise a dissension, that seemed to threaten the ruin of the expedition. Upon this Cortes ordered Diego de Ordaz, Pedro Escudero, and Juan Velasquez de Leon to be seized, carried on board the fleet, and put in irons. No body was at first allowed to visit them, but afterward their friends were admitted, and among the rest some of his confidants, who found means to reduce them to reason. He then suffered himself to be pacified, and so effectually conciliated their affections, that they afterwards stood by him with unshaken fidelity. Cortes, having re-established his authority, now prepared for leaving this part of the country; and directing the ships to sail for the bay of Quiabitslan, resolved to march thither by land. In a few hours he reached the river of Zempoalla, which being very deep, the troops crossed it in canoes, and other vessels belonging to some fishermen, which they found on the shore, the horses being obliged to swim. The army soon after arrived at some houses in the district of Zempoalla, which they found entirely abandoned: though the natives left in their temples several idols, with knives made of flint, and some miserable remains of human victims. Here they first saw the Mexican books, three or four of which were in the temples, and were supposed to contain the rites of their religion. Each was made of thin varnished cloth, folded in leaves and made up into volumes, resembling ours.

Next day the Spaniards continued their march; but saw not one person during the whole morning, till entering some very agreeable meadows they discovered twelve Indians, who were coming in search of Cortes, with a present of fowls and bread from the cacique of Zempoalla, who invited him to his town,

town, where he had provided quarters for his troops. Cortes dismissed six of the Indians, with thanks for the hospitality of their prince, and detained the rest as guides to the town, which they told him was at the distance of a day's journey.

Zempoalla was a large city that afforded a beautiful prospect. It was situated between two rivers; the buildings were of stone, whitened on the outside with a sort of shining lime, which at a distance had such a noble effect, that one of the scouts returned in haste to Cortes, crying aloud that the walls were of silver. At their entering it, the squares and streets were filled with a multitude of people drawn together by curiosity, and the cacique himself appeared at the gate of his palace, supported by some of his nobles, for he was so extremely fat, that he could not move without much difficulty. A mantle of fine cotton, enriched with jewels, was thrown over his naked body, and he wore pendants in his ears and lips. On his approaching to salute Cortes, his unwieldy appearance made it necessary for that general to put a stop to the laughter of his soldiers: he received Cortes in his arms, and welcomed both him and the rest of the captains in such sensible expressions as created respect, and having desired Cortes to repose himself after his journey, told him that he would visit him at his lodgings, where they would converse more at leisure about their mutual interests. The troops then retired to the quarters provided for them, accommodated with provisions and other necessities.

The cacique soon after sent a present to Cortes of jewels, gold and other curiosities, and followed this present in person, carried on a chair on the shoulders of the chief of his family, and attended by a splendid retinue. Cortes went out to receive him, and retiring to a private apartment with him and the interpreters, expatiated upon the grandeur of the king of Spain, and the errors of idolatry; telling him that the design of his coming with his valiant troops,

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was to redress wrongs, to punish violence, and to vindicate the cause of reason and justice. He artfully touched on this subject, in order to draw him to complain of Motezuma, that he might discover what advantages he might expect to reap from his resentment against that prince; and, indeed, the words were no sooner pronounced, than he began to utter his complaints, and to observe that the neighbouring caciques groaned under the tyranny of Motezuma; but concluded with observing, that he did not wish to engage Cortes in a quarrel with such a potent emperor, whose power was irresistible. Cortes immediately replied, that while he had justice on his side he should pay but little regard to Motezuma's power. In short, having continued the conversation for some time, the cacique took his leave, highly satisfied, while Cortes was equally pleased at the prospect of strengthening his interest by such a powerful alliance.

When the troops were ready to march, they found 400 Indians provided to carry their baggage and provisions, and to help to conduct the artillery. The country they now entered was fertile and pleasant, a part of it was laid out in corn fields, and the rest covered with trees. They staid all night at a little village they found deserted, and the next morning arrived at Quiabisan, a town strongly situated upon a rock, with the avenues to it narrow and steep. But though this place was naturally strong, they entered it without opposition, nor did they perceive any person, till coming to a square in which the Indian temples were placed, fourteen or fifteen of the natives handsomely adorned with feathers, came out to meet them. Cortes encouraged them by his affability, and gave them some glass beads; when recovering their spirits, they informed him that the cacique had retired in order to avoid a war, as he neither chose to deny them admittance, nor to trust his person among armed troops that were entirely unknown to him, and that the inhabitants could
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not be prevented from following his example: but that as soon as they should be sensible of the goodness of such guests, they would return to their houses, and esteem it their happiness to serve and obey them. Cortes gave them the strongest assurances of his friendship, and gave strict orders to the soldiers, to behave with great civility to these Indians, who soon shewed the confidence they placed in the Spaniards; for some families returned that very night, and in a little time the town was filled with its inhabitants.

Some time after, the cacique himself returned, and was introduced by the cacique of Zempoalla, both of whom were carried on men's shoulders, and the latter made an handsome excuse for his friend. The conversation turned upon the tyranny of Motezuma, whom they represented as a monster, who not only impoverished them by the tribute he demanded, but robbed them of their wives and daughters, with whose blood he stained the altars of his gods, after having sacrificed their honour to more shameful purposes.

In the midst of their discourse they were interrupted by the entrance of two or three Indians who seemed to be in a great fright, and whispering the caciques, put them in such confusion, that they changed colour, and hastily retired. The cause of this disorder was instantly known; for six commissaries from Motezuma were seen passing before the quarters of the Spaniards, richly adorned with feathers and pendants of gold, and attended by a number of officers and servants. Cortes went to the gate to see them, when they passed by without paying him the least respect, and with such a contemptuous look, that the soldiers would have immediately chastized them, had they not been restrained by their general, who contented himself with sending Marina with a sufficient guard, to know the cause of their coming. By this means he understood, that the commissaries, after having seated them-

themselves in the town-house, summoned the caciques to appear before them; and having sharply reprimanded them for presuming to entertain the emperor's enemies, demanded, over and above the ordinary tribute, twenty Indians to be sacrificed to the gods, as an atonement for their crime. Cortes no sooner received this intelligence, than he ordered some soldiers to bring the caciques without noise, and telling them, that he knew the inhuman purpose of the commissaries, which he would not suffer them to obey; he desired them to assemble their people to seize the Mexicans, and to leave the rest to his conduct.

The caciques at first refused to comply with this bold command, till Cortes repeating his order in a peremptory manner, they went and executed it; and having seized Motezuma's ministers, put them in a kind of pillory in their prisons, to the great satisfaction of the people, who demanded that they should either die the death of traitors, or be instantly sacrificed to their gods. Cortes however refused to grant this request, and having secured them by a guard of Spanish soldiers, retired to his quarters, in order to contrive some method of extricating himself from the difficulty in which he was involved. He was unwilling to come to an open rupture with Motezuma, and yet thought it necessary to support the party he had already formed against that prince, in order to have their assistance, in case he should happen to want it. In consequence of these reflections, he, at midnight, sent for two of the prisoners, whom he treated in a very obliging manner, told them they were at liberty, and as he had restored their freedom, they might assure their prince that he would speedily endeavour to release the rest of their companions, and to make the caciques sensible of their fault. The Mexicans heard this declaration with equal joy and astonishment, but durst not set out on their journey, for fear of being killed or

taken by the way; the Spanish soldiers were therefore ordered to conduct them to the bay, and one of the ship's boats carried them beyond the district of Zempoalla.

The next morning the caciques came to Cortes, and expressing great concern at the escape of the prisoners, he received the news with the appearance of much surprize and vexation; but proposed, in order to prevent any accident of the like kind for the future, to take care of the rest himself, and immediately ordered them to be carried on board the fleet. Thus, by a duplicity of conduct, without losing the confidence of the caciques, he conferred an obligation on Motezuma, the greatness of whose power made him unwilling to provoke his resentment.

The moderation with which the Spaniards behaved towards their allies, was quickly made known to the neighbouring districts, and in a few days, Cortes was visited by above thirty caciques of the mountains within sight of Quiabistan; these swore to be faithful to the king of Spain, and offered to assist Cortes against Motezuma.

Cortes now resolved to settle the corporation of Villa Rica de la Cruz, which had hitherto moved with the army; for which purpose he pitched upon a plain between Quiabistan and the sea, where the soil was extremely fertile, well watered with rivers, and abounding with trees, that were commodiously situated for the cutting of timber for building. They began with laying the foundation of a church, and the Spaniards, being assisted by their Indian friends, both that and the houses were soon erected; for the officers, and even Cortes himself, set an example to the rest, by performing the most difficult work: by this means the town was soon compleated, and encompassed with a mud wall, sufficient to defend it against all the methods of attack used by the Indians.

In the mean time, Motezuma being informed that the cacique of Zempoalla, whose fidelity was suspected, had admitted the strangers into his town; resolved not only to chastize this rebellious tributary, but to march in person against the Spaniards. But his preparations for this enterprize were suspended by the arrival of the two Indians, who had been released by Cortes. These gave an account of their imprisonment; of their owing their liberty to the captain of the strangers; of his courteous treatment, and the message he had ordered them to deliver: upon which Motezuma's anger was mitigated, and he resolved to have again recourse to negotiation.

The Mexican ambassadors arrived just as the new settlement and fortress of Vera Cruz was completed. These were two young men who were the emperor's nephews, attended by four ancient caciques, who were to serve as counsellors. They had a splendid retinue, and the present, which consisted of gold, feathers and cotton, was valued by the Spaniards at 2000 pieces of eight. They told Cortes that the emperor was determined to chastize the caciques, till the account he had received of his behaviour had induced him to suspend his vengeance; that he however hoped he would soon quit that country, since the obstacles which opposed his coming to court, were in their own nature unsurmountable.

Cortes, according to his usual custom, received the presents made him by the emperor, with great respect, and ordering the four imprisoned officers to be brought ashore, delivered them to the ambassadors; observing, that he was highly pleased at having such an opportunity of shewing his regard to the emperor: that he thought the insolence of the caciques in some measure excusable; from the extravagant behaviour of the officers themselves, who not satisfied with the usual tribute, had the inhumanity to demand twenty Indians for their sacrifices. That he thought himself obliged to the caciques

for admitting and entertaining him in their territories, and therefore could not help interceding with Motezuma on their behalf; especially as they, together with the caciques of the mountains, were now in a peculiar manner under his protection: that he would communicate the particulars of his embassy when he should appear in the emperor's presence; and that no impediments or danger should prevent his receiving that favour. With this resolute answer, and some presents to the ambassadors, and others for Motezuma, he dismissed them, greatly dissatisfied at his obstinacy.

Not long after these transactions, the cacique of Zempoalla came to Vera Cruz, and told Cortes, that the time was now come for him to protect his country against the Mexicans, who had arrived at Zimpazingo, whence they made excursions into his district, destroying the corn fields, and committing other acts of hostility. Cortes thought himself obliged to support his new allies, and that it would not become him to suffer the insolence of the Mexicans in a manner within his sight. He therefore desired the cacique to provide Indians to carry his baggage, and draw his artillery; which being done, he set out at the head of 400 Spaniards, leaving the rest in the fortress of Vera Cruz. On his passing by Zempoalla, he was joined by 2000 armed Indians, assembled by the cacique, to serve under him in this expedition. The same night he quartered his troops three leagues from Zimpazingo, and the next day in the afternoon discovered the town, situated on the top of a small hill among great rocks, which concealed part of the buildings, and rendered it difficult of access.

The Spaniards with much fatigue passed over the rocks, without meeting with the least resistance; but just as they were preparing to attack the town, in several places at once, eight ancient priests appeared, clothed in black mantles that reached to the

the ground, the upper part gathered about the neck, and a piece hanging loose in the form of a hood: they had long hair which was clotted, and their hands and faces stained with the blood of human sacrifices. These men approached the general with marks of the most humble submission, and soon convinced him that he had been imposed upon; since Motezuma's troops had retired some time before, and that this was only an artifice of his allies who were their inveterate enemies, in order to make him the instrument of their destruction. Cortes being provoked at the deceit, ordered the captains Olido and Alverado to march with their companies, and assemble the Indians, who had advanced before to get into the town. They were now busy in plundering it, and making prisoners, and being brought into his presence, loaded with booty, and followed by the miserable inhabitants crying aloud for justice, he commanded them to deliver up the goods to the priests, that they might restore them to the proper owners. Then calling for the Zempoallan captains, told them with a threatening voice, that they had forfeited their lives by their presumption, in engaging him, by deceit, to compass their revenge. Having reprimanded the Zempoallans, he ordered them to lodge without the town, while he himself entering it with the Spaniards, was received with the applauses due to a deliverer, and visited by the cacique, with others in that neighbourhood, who voluntarily acknowledged themselves subject to the king of Spain. He now formed a scheme for reconciling these Indians and the Zempoallans, which he had the happiness to effect; and having made them friends, he returned to Vera Cruz, leaving his reputation and interest highly advanced by the issue of this expedition, which he had too credulously undertaken; and thus, like a consummate politician, he made even his very errors contribute to his grand design.

On his return, he found the caciques of Zempoalla waiting for him at some distance from the town, with a large quantity of provisions for the refreshment of the army; when observing that chief appeared ashamed of his conduct, he assured him that he had laid aside his displeasure, and they having entered the town together, the cacique made him a present of eight of the most beautiful virgins, who were of good families: they were adorned with gold necklaces and pendants, and attended by several women servants. Seven of these the cacique allotted for the captains, and the other being his own niece, he recommended as a wife to Cortes, in order that their friendship might be strengthened by the ties of blood. The general returned him thanks, and let him know that it was unlawful for a Spaniard to marry any woman who was an idolater, and took this opportunity of declaring against their idolatry and superstition.

Soon after the Zempoallans assembled in one of their most solemn festivals, in order to offer human sacrifices, which were performed with horrible ceremonies; when the wretched victims being cut to pieces were sold to the people as sacred food. Cortes being soon informed of this affair, was filled with indignation, and forgetting every other motive, ordered the cacique and principal Indians, who attended him, to be brought before him, and with them proceeded to the temple, followed by his troops. The priests being informed of his approach, immediately ran to the gate, and with loud and hideous outcries called the people to the defence of their gods. At which some armed Indians posted themselves in the avenues of the temples; when Cortes seeing the inhabitants assembling in great numbers, ordered Marina to tell them aloud, that the first arrow they should let fly, he would order the throats of the cacique and all the principal Indians in his power to be cut, and then punish their presumption with fire and sword. The cacique trembled at this dreadful menace, and com-

commanding them to lay down their arms and retire, they obeyed with the utmost expedition. Cortes then began to declaim against the barbarity and absurdity of their religion, and at length proposed to the Indians, that they themselves should ascend the steps, and overthrow the idols with their own hands: but prostrating themselves upon the ground, they declared with tears and the most dreadful lamentations, that they would suffer all the extremest tortures he could invent, rather than be guilty of committing such an impious sacrilege. Cortes giving the command to his soldiers, the idols were in an instant thrown down and broken to pieces; while the Indians stood motionless with horror, every moment expecting to see the immediate vengeance of heaven fall on these impious men: but at length perceiving that they remained unhurt, and that the gods were unable to defend themselves, their horror subsided, and changed into such contempt, that they themselves joined with the Spaniards in burning the fragments of their idols; and the next day mass was celebrated in that very temple.

The Spaniards now returned to Vera Cruz; and the same day they reached that new colony, a vessel arrived from Cuba, commanded by Francisco de Salcedo, which brought Captain Luis Martin, ten soldiers, and two horses. By these gentlemen the general was informed, that Velasquez had obtained the title of King's Lieutenant of the island of Cuba, with a commission to trade and make settlements in the new discovered countries, and that he was resolved to put a stop to Cortes's proceedings. Upon this information, the latter was determined to lay the affair before the king: at his desire the council of Vera Cruz wrote a particular account of the expedition, and of Velasquez's injurious behaviour towards him; beseeching his majesty, in consideration of his great merit, to grant him the commission of Captain-general, that he might exert himself in the

service of his country, without having any dependance on the governor of Cuba. These dispatches were committed to Alonzo Hernandez Portocarrero and Francisco Montejo : but Cortes thinking that the fifth part of the gold they had collected would be but a trifling present for the king, prevailed with the officers and soldiers to resign their shares ; accordingly the above officers embarked for Spain on the 16th of July 1519, and carried also a particular present from Hernando to his father Martin Cortes.

These deputies had been but just sent to Spain, when some of the friends of Velasquez privately concerted the means of escaping to Cuba, in order to give intelligence to Velasquez of these proceedings. For this purpose they had secured one of the vessels ; but in the very night when they were going to embark, one of the accomplices went to Cortes, and informed him of the whole scheme. He took his measures with such success, that he seized all the persons concerned ; who being brought to their trial, two of the ringleaders were condemned to be hanged, others to other punishments, and the rest were pardoned.

Cortes being very much disturbed at this conspiracy, which might again break out so as to disconcert his whole scheme, formed a resolution, that at once evinced the greatness and intrepidity of his mind : this was to destroy the ships, that the soldiers being deprived of all means of escape, might act with greater ardour and unanimity, from their having no other choice but to conquer or die. Having communicated this important scheme to his confidants, they exerted themselves amongst the soldiers in such a manner, that they themselves went to persuade him to agree to it. Orders were accordingly given for bringing on shore the iron work, anchors, sails, and every thing that might be of use, and then to sink them all, except the boats, which were reserved for fishing.

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But no sooner had Cortes taken this extraordinary step, than all the advantage of it seemed to be destroyed by an accident that could not possibly be foreseen, and which it was therefore impossible for him to avoid. This was the arrival of a small squadron upon the coast, of which he received advice by an express from Juan de Escalante. He immediately went to Vera Cruz, and at his arrival perceived one of the vessels at anchor at a considerable distance from the shore, where were landed three Spaniards, one of whom was a public notary. Cortes went to them with a small party, when the notary delivered to him a writing, which contained in substance, that the governor of Jamaica laid claim to a part of that country, and therefore sent to inform Cortes, that he was not to make a settlement there. Cortes declined taking the paper, and very mildly told him, that it would be better if Captain Pineda, who he understood was the commander of the squadron, would come on shore, in order that they might adjust the affair in an amicable manner. But finding that nobody came, he directed three of his men to put on the prisoners cloaths, and to go down to the sea-side, where they were to make signals with their cloaks. In consequence of this stratagem a boat came off from the ship with twelve men well armed, and four men landing, with an Indian, advanced toward them. By which stratagem he got these into his hands; but the boat's crew rowed back to the vessel, which soon after weighed anchor and stood to sea. These men readily inlisted under him, and Cortes returned with a small recruit of seven Spaniards, which was then esteemed a very considerable reinforcement.

Having formed his little army, and appointed an advanced party to reconnoitre, Cortes began his march toward Mexico, on the 16th of August 1519, and in the way was kindly entertained at the towns belonging to the confederates, in each of which places he erected a cross, and exhorted the people to forbear
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offering human sacrifices. They now entered upon the rough part of the mountains, where they were obliged to march for three days over rocks and precipices, in cold and rainy weather, without any thing to shelter themselves from the inclemency of the air.

They next entered into the large and populous province of Zocathlan, where in a valley at the foot of a mountain, was a city of the same name, in which the cacique resided. Cortes sent two Zempoallans to inform this prince of his arrival, who soon returned with a favourable answer. The cacique came out of the city with a great retinue, and received the general with a kind of forced civility. The Spaniards here found very incommodious quarters; Cortes, however, concealed his resentment, in order to give that prince no opportunity of engaging him in hostilities that would inevitably obstruct his march.

The next day the cacique visited Cortes at his quarters, when the latter received him with great civility, and among other questions, asked whether he was subject to the emperor of Mexico? when the other replied, Is there any man upon earth, who is not a slave to Motezuma? To which Cortes scornfully replied, That he himself, and those who accompanied him, obeyed another king who had many subjects more powerful than Motezuma. But the cacique, without attending to these words, proceeded to display the grandeur of his emperor; the provinces under his dominion, he said, were innumerable, and observed that he had many lords who served bare-foot in his palace, with their eyes fixed on the ground; adding, that he resided in the largest, most beautiful, and strongest city in the universe, founded in the midst of lakes.

Cortes easily discovered the intent of this discourse, which had been dictated by the court of Mexico, to deter him from proceeding; but seeming not to penetrate into his design, he replied that he was already informed of Motezuma's grandeur, and that his embassy

bassy being peaceable, his men were appointed rather to shew his authority, than as a martial guard; but yet the most inconsiderable Spaniard was able to overthrow a whole army of Indians. That he sought for peace; but if he was compelled to engage in war, he would destroy his enemies with fire and sword; for nature would assist him with her prodigies, and heaven with its lightning. This rodomontade had a surprising effect, and the cacique was so over-awed by it, that he entirely altered his conduct, and supplied the Spaniards with provisions in great plenty, during the five days Cortes staid there.

Cortes now proceeded on his march to the province of Tlascala, that bordered upon Zocathlan, and for several days nothing considerable happened: but afterward hearing that the whole country was in arms, he resolved to halt at a small town called Xacazingo, till he should be better informed of their designs.

The province of Tlascala was about 50 leagues in circumference, and though the land was mountainous and uneven, it abounded with inhabitants. The capital was built upon different eminences. The people at first were governed by kings, till growing weary of their tyranny, they shook off the yoke, and formed themselves into a regular commonwealth.

To this republic Cortes sent four of the principal Zempoallans, who were fully instructed by Aguilar and Marina, how to address the Senate, in demanding a passage for the Spaniards through their territories. They instantly put on the appearance of ambassadors, each wearing on his shoulder a wreathed cotton-tippet knotted at the ends; in the right hand a large arrow, and on the left arm a target, formed of tortoise-shell. Upon these occasions, when the purport of the embassy was war, the feathers of the arrow were red; but when their errand was peace, they were white. By these symbols the ambassadors were known and respected

respected on the high roads ; but if they turned aside they forfeited their privileges.

Cortes's four envoys on their entering Tlascala, were conducted to a house set apart for the reception of ambassadors, and the next day brought into the senate. After a short conference, the senators told the ambassadors, that they gratefully received the salutation of the confederates ; but must deliberate upon the answer to be returned to the strangers. The Indians then retired to their lodging, when Cortes's demand produced very obstinate debates, some insisting upon repelling him by force of arms, and others proposing a compliance with his request. The chief of those who espoused pacific sentiments was an old senator named Magiscatzen, a person of great authority in the republic, who reminded them of a prophecy, that an invincible race of men would come from the east, with such dominion over the elements, that they should form floating cities upon the seas, and use fire and air to subdue the earth. These strangers he alleged were certainly the people foretold ; and, that as they only desired a passage through their country, they could not refuse it without being guilty of incivility to those who had never injured them, nor without disrespect to their allies, by whom they were so warmly recommended.

Magiscatzen's speech was received with applause ; but the favourable dispositions he inspired were entirely changed by the interposition of Xicotencal their general, a young man animated by ambition, who ridiculed the prophecy, and represented the Spaniards as common men, whose vessels and arms were produced by human art, whose valour was not uncommon, and whose pride, cruelty, and avarice, were intolerable. He therefore earnestly intreated that they would allow him to assemble the forces, and exterminate them at once, as the oppressors of their country and the enemies of their religion.

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These arguments had great weight with a people ambitious of military glory: they therefore ordered their general to try his strength with the Christians, but detained the ambassadors.

Cortés having waited eight days for the return of his ambassadors, determined to continue his march towards the city of Tlascala, that in case they were resolved on hostilities, he might attack them before they were joined by their allies; by which prudent resolution he prevented their obtaining time to guard a strong stone wall which was 20 feet thick, and 9 feet high, with a parapet upon the top: it reached cross the valley, extending from one mountain to another, and had no other entrance but in the middle, where the two ends circularly crossed each other for the space of ten paces, and might have easily been defended against all invaders. The Spaniards having passed this wall without opposition, marched in good order with their artillery ready, and with advanced parties to prevent surprize. These parties at length discovered 20 or 30 Indians at a considerable distance, who by their plumes appeared to be soldiers. The Indians took to their heels, till having joined the main body, which was at some distance, they faced about, and stood in a posture of defence. At this instant the Spanish infantry came up, formed themselves into a battalion, and with the first volley of the fire-arms threw the Indians into disorder. Of this the Spaniards taking advantage fell upon them with such resolution, that in a short time they quitted the field.

Proceeding on their march the next day, they were opposed by a larger body of the enemy, which advanced with great noise, and having discharged a flight of arrows and a large quantity of stones from their slings, retreated, making a kind of running fight; but Cortés imagining that this retreat was only a stratagem, followed in close order, till having reached the top of a hill he discovered a plain, where

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was an army of about 40,000 men, composed of various nations, distinguished by the colours of their ensigns and plumes. The Spaniards boldly marched down the hill; formed on the even ground, and moved on to the attack, while the Indians still retired, till finding them at a distance from the hill, they opened to the right and left, and ran furiously to occupy the ground on both sides, and then closing in a circle, surrounded the Spaniards, who found it necessary to throw themselves into an hollow square, in order to sustain the fury of the assailants. The air was soon darkened with the arrows, darts and stones, which fell upon the Spaniards, till the Indians observing the little effect of these missive weapons, boldly attacked them with their pikes and swords. But the artillery swept down whole companies; the small arms killed them in heaps, and Cortes breaking in among them with his horse, slew and trampled under foot all that came in his way. During the battle Pedro de Moron, who was mounted on horseback, was surrounded and taken by the Indians after having received several wounds; but though he was soon released by the rest of the cavalry, his horse was killed.

The Spaniards being greatly fatigued, began to be dubious of success, when the cries of the enemy suddenly ceased, and this silence was followed by the noise of horns and drums sounding a retreat. The enemy then moving off slowly, left the field to the Christians: but notwithstanding the loss of most of their officers, they entered their quarters in triumph, with the horse's head carried as a trophy before the general, who sent it to Tlascala, where it was sacrificed with extraordinary solemnity in one of the temples. Nine or ten of the Spanish soldiers, and many of the Zempoallans, who were fired by the example of the Spaniards, were wounded in this battle, which was no sooner over, than Cortes observing a small town on an eminence that commanded the country, marched

marched thither, and had the satisfaction of finding it well supplied with provisions.

The sentiments of the Tlascalans were still divided; for while some cried out for peace, others were equally eager for continuing the war: Xicotencal demanded supplies to revenge the loss they had suffered, and one of the confederates arriving at the same time with 10,000 men, this succour encouraged them to prosecute the war with fresh vigour. In the mean time the four Zempoallan ambassadors returned by different ways to the Spaniards, and informed Cortes, that as soon as Xicotencal took the field, they were put in a prison, and destined by the Tlascalans as sacrifices to the God of war, but that they had happily found means to make their escape.

Though a profound stillness reigned throughout the country, Cortes was far from imagining that he was out of danger; he therefore resolved to maintain his post; but foreseeing that the Indians would interpret his inaction as proceeding from fear, he resolved the next morning to reconnoitre the country, in order to gain intelligence; and therefore marched out with all his horse and 200 foot, which equally consisted of Spaniards and Zempoallans. He advanced as far as some villages in the road to Tlascala, where he found great store of provisions, and made several prisoners, by whom he was informed that Xicotencal was encamped about two leagues from thence, and employed in recruiting and augmenting his army.

The Zempoallans being now highly incensed against the Tlascalans, Cortes permitted them to destroy the country with fire and sword, and then returned to the camp, where he set at liberty all his prisoners, and among those who had been taken the day before, he chose two or three to carry a message to Xicotencal, in which he expressed his concern for the loss he had sustained in the battle; and desired that he would now consent to an accommodation, otherwise he should make the name of Tlascala a terror to its neigh-

neighbours. The prisoners at their departure promised to bring him an answer; and a few hours after they kept their word; but returned bloody and mangled by Xicotencal's order, for presuming to deliver such a message: with an answer that Xicotencal would meet the Christians as soon as the sun arose, when he did not doubt but that he should carry them alive to the altars of his gods; and that to shew how little he feared him, he gave him notice of his resolution, that he might have time to prepare himself.

Cortes, though piqued at Xicotencal's insolence, would not neglect his advice: but at day-break took possession of a spot where he could receive the enemy with advantage. In a short time the scouts returned with intelligence, that the enemy were upon their march, and soon after they appeared, when their number amounted to above 50,000 men, consisting of the whole strength of the republic and its allies. They displayed a large golden eagle, which was the ensign of Tlascala, and was never brought into the field, but upon the greatest undertakings, and at first seemed to advance with equal expedition and intrepidity. On their coming within cannon shot, the artillery filled them with such terror that they halted for some time; but at length rushed forward in a throng till they were near enough to use their slings and arrows, when they were a second time stopt by the discharge of the fire-arms and cross-bows. But at length they burst upon the Spaniards like a torrent, and broke their ranks by mere dint of weight and multitude: they, however, formed again; when on a sudden a great disturbance appeared among the enemy, whose troops moved to and fro, and turned their arms against each other, till at length they retired in a tumultuous manner.

The cause of this disturbance and retreat was afterward found to be owing to the insolence of Xicotencal in upbraiding one of the confederate caciques with

with cowardice, for not advancing when the rest were engaged. The Indian chief who had 10,000 men under his command, returned an angry answer, which being followed by a challenge, the other caciques espoused their friend's quarrel, and immediately retired. Upon which Xicotencal, finding himself abandoned by his allies, and having seen a great number of his people slain upon the spot, left the field.

It is said that Cortes lost only a single soldier on this occasion; however, several of the men were very much discouraged at their having been put into disorder, and loudly declared, that they would not sacrifice their lives to Cortes's obstinacy, but return by themselves to Vera Cruz, and leave him alone to follow the dictates of his ambition. This spirit of mutiny made it necessary for Cortes to assemble the soldiers, when he exerted his eloquence with such success, that one of the mutineers cried aloud, "Fellow-soldiers, our general is in the right, we cannot now retire without being inevitably lost;" and this opinion was immediately assented to by the whole army.

Mean while the Tlascalans were so intimidated by the ill success of the second battle, that they cried aloud for peace with the strangers, whom they esteemed invincible. But the senate concluding they were magicians, resolved to oppose enchantment against enchantment, and therefore consulted their wizards, who now pretended to have discovered the cause of their defeat. They asserted that the Spaniards were the offspring of the Sun, whence they derived a superior power from the warmth of his beams; but that when he disappeared they remained weak and dispirited. Hence they proposed that they should be attacked by night, and utterly destroyed before they could be reanimated by the beams of their father. This absurd piece of intelligence the senate communicated to Xicotencal, with orders to execute it, and

he immediately began to prepare for taking his measures accordingly.

Mean while Cortes took particular care to preserve the strictest discipline, and with good reason; for on the night destined for the attack, the out-centinels discovered a body of the enemy marching toward the town with unusual slowness and silence, when notice being given of their approach, the soldiers manned the works without noise or confusion, and cheerfully waited to give them a warm reception. Xicotencal had 10,000 men under his command, whom he ordered to attack the quarters on three sides at once, which they did with equal speed and resolution; but they met with such a powerful and unexpected resistance, that many were slain, and the rest were the more terrified from their having been confident that they should find the Spaniards weak and unprepared. Cortes no sooner perceived them retiring from the wall, than he sent out part of his infantry, and all his horse, furnished with breast-plates full of bells, to charge the Indians, who were so terrified at the unusual noise, that they fled in confusion, leaving a considerable number of dead, and some wounded, whom they were in too great a hurry to carry off. This victory was obtained by the loss of one man, who was a Zempoallan.

The news of this disappointment soon reached Tlascala, when the inhabitants unanimously demanded peace, and justice against the magicians for having deceived them. The senate assembling, agreed to punish the impostors, two of whom were immediately sacrificed to their gods, and to apply to the strangers for forgiveness, now firmly believing that they were the celestial people mentioned in the prophecy. Mean while a messenger was sent to inform Xicotencal of the senate's resolution; but that general being exasperated against the Spaniards, from whom he longed to retrieve his honour, absolutely refused to comply, and resolved to make a second assault by night: but in order

order to know the nature and strength of their fortifications, he employed 40 soldiers to enter the Spanish quarters among the neighbouring peasants, who resorted thither to exchange provisions for baubles. These spies had spent the greatest part of the morning among the Spaniards unsuspected, till a Zempoallan, who had observed one of them narrowly examining the fortifications, communicated his suspicion to Cortes, who instantly ordered him to be put to the torture, when he made a full confession, in consequence of which his comrades were apprehended, and the whole scheme discovered. The general then caused fifteen of the most obstinate of these spies to be punished, some by losing a hand, and others their thumbs, and then dismissed them to tell Xicotencal that he was prepared for his coming, and had sent his spies alive that they might acquaint him with the situation of his works.

At this bloody spectacle the Indian army was struck with horror and astonishment, and their message made a deep impression on the general's mind. He now began to think that the Spaniards could not have discovered his design without a supernatural information: but while he was reflecting on this subject, he was accosted by several persons, sent by the senate to divest him of his command.

The Spaniards expected an attack all that night and the next day; but on the succeeding morning a deputation came from the senate and republic of Tlascala to treat of peace: they were allowed to enter; and being introduced to Cortes, they apologized for what was past, sued for peace, and earnestly entreated him to march to their city, where the Spaniards should be served and respected as the children of the Sun, and the brothers of the gods. Cortes treated them with an affected severity, and told them, that, however, peace was agreeable to his inclinations, and he would endeavour to appease the anger of his captains.

Motezuma was greatly alarmed at Cortes's success against the Tlascalans, apprehending that should they unite their forces, they might be able to overturn his whole empire. Yet instead of assembling an army in his own defence, he sent another present to Cortes, by ambassadors who were ordered to divert him from his intended journey, to watch over his actions, and if possible to prevent a reconciliation between him and the Tlascalans. Five Mexicans of the first rank, who were charged with this embassy, arrived in the Spanish quarters, soon after the ministers of the republic had departed, and were favourably received by Cortes, who accepted of the present; but would not dispatch them immediately, as he was desirous of having them see the Tlascalans humbled: and indeed they had no inclination to depart, till they had accomplished the real design of their embassy.

In the mean time the republic caused the neighbouring villages to furnish the Spanish army with provisions gratis; and in two days Cortes was visited by Xicotencal at the head of 50 noblemen of his party, who attended him with the ensigns of peace. He was well made, above the middle stature, and had a countenance that commanded respect. He wore a white mantle adorned with jewels, and behaved before Cortes with the free air of a soldier. Cortes complained, in the hearing of the Mexican ambassadors, with some vehemence, of the unjust war they had carried on, but granted peace, and promised that no violence should be committed by the soldiers. At Xicotencal's departure he gave him his hand, and told him that he would return the visit after he had dispatched Motezuma's ambassadors.

The Mexicans made a jest of the peace, and pretended that the Tlascalans only fought to lull him into security, in order with the greater ease to destroy him and his soldiers. But finding that he was fixed in his resolution to grant them a peace, they desired him to
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delay his march to Tlascala for six days, promising to send two of their number to Mexico, while the rest would stay to expect his resolution: and as Cortes did not think proper to break with Motezuma, he consented to this request.

Within the appointed time the ambassadors returned, accompanied by six persons of high rank, with a splendid retinue, bearing another present of greater value than the former; declaring that Motezuma desired to be the friend and confederate of the great sovereign of the Spaniards, and would pay him an annual tribute, provided they would enter into no league with the Tlascalans, and lay aside their design of coming to Mexico.

But Cortes being resolved that these ambassadors should be witness of the peace with Tlascala, postponed his answer, resolving to detain them as long as he could, to give Motezuma the less time to prepare for hostilities. These embassies so greatly alarmed the Tlascalans, that the government came to a resolution to visit Cortes in the form of a senate, in order to convince him of their sincerity, and break off his negotiation with the Mexicans. They accordingly arrived in solemn procession, carried upon the shoulders of inferior officers, and followed by numerous attendants. Cortes received them with his usual state and civility; and after they were seated, was addressed by the father of Xicotencal, a blind old man of a venerable aspect, who told him, that the senate of Tlascala were come to sue for peace on his own terms; to dissuade him from entering into a league with the tyrant Motezuma; and intreated him to honour their city with his presence. Cortes assured him that he would march to Tlascala, whenever the people of the neighbouring villages were ready to conduct his baggage and artillery. The next morning 500 tamines, or carriers, appeared at his quarters, and having made the proper dispositions, he immediately began his march.

The Spaniards were received by the senators and nobles, at a considerable distance from the town, who, having paid their respects to the general, turned about and marched before. The city resounded with shouts, acclamations, and the disagreeable noise of their horns, pipes, and drums.

As Cortes knew the warlike character of the people among whom he lived, he observed the utmost circumspection; which greatly mortified the Tlascalans; and Magiscatzin being sent by the senate to complain of it to Cortes, he assured him, that he was well convinced of the sincerity and good-will of the republic, and that his soldiers appearing in arms, was one of the effects of that discipline which had rendered the Spaniards invincible. With this reply the senate were satisfied, and the Spaniards received daily proofs of the fidelity and friendship of their new allies. Cortes's zeal made him resolve to destroy all their idols; but it soon was moderated by the charity of father de Olmedo, who told him that persecution but ill agreed with the doctrines of the gospel, and that their conversion required time and gentle usage. However he prevailed with the Tlascalans to desist from human sacrifices, and to set at liberty those miserable wretches who were fed in cages, in order to be the victims of their inhuman worship.

Peace being established, and the senate of Tlascala having sworn allegiance to the king of Spain, Cortes dismissed the Mexican ambassadors, whom he desired to inform Motezuma of what had passed in their presence.

While Cortes still continued at Tlascala, receiving homage in the name of Charles V. from the different towns and confederates of the republic, the inhabitants were alarmed by a surprizing irruption of fire from the Volcano of Popocatepec, an high mountain at eight leagues distance from the city, which filled the people with terror and consternation; for they ridiculously imagined it to be a presage of future misfortunes,

fortunes, and supposed that the sparks of fire were the souls of tyrants sent abroad by the offended deities to chastise the earth.

While Magiscatzin and some of the principal noblemen were rehearsing these idle fancies to Cortes, Diego de Ordaz came to ask leave to ascend the mountain, in order to gratify his curiosity. The Indians, astonished at his proposal, endeavoured to persuade him from engaging in such a dangerous enterprise, and observed, that the boldest men of their nation had never ventured beyond some hermitages of their gods, about the middle of the eminence, and that dreadful roarings and tremblings forbade all approach to its summit. This account increased the eagerness of Diego de Ordaz, and Cortes granted his request, in order to afford the Tlascalans a fresh proof of the superior courage of the Spaniards.

Ordaz therefore set out on this expedition attended by two soldiers, and some of the principal Indians, who offered to attend him as far as the hermitages. He found the bottom of the mountain beautified on all sides with green trees, which extended a considerable way up the ascent. The earth then grew barren by degrees. The Indians stopped at their hermitages, to which they never expected to see the Spaniards return; and Diego de Ordaz, with his companions, proceeded, climbing among the rocks, which were whitened by snow and the ashes discharged from the Volcano; and at length reached a place at a small distance from the summit, where they felt the earth move violently under them, and heard a dreadful roaring issue from the mouth of the Volcano, which with redoubled noise discharged a vast quantity of fire and smoke, that darted upward to a great height. The Spaniards were instantly covered with a shower of hot ashes, which obliged them to seek for shelter in the hollow of a rock, where they were almost stifled. Diego de Ordaz, however, perceiving that the earthquake was passed, encouraged the soldiers, by his

example, to prosecute this discovery, till they came within sight of the mouth of the volcano, which was about a quarter of a league in circumference; they observed at the bottom a large quantity of inflammable matter, which boiled up like some shining metal in fusion. With this account they returned safe, to the astonishment of the Indians, whose esteem for the Spaniards was increased by this adventure, which afterward proved of signal service; for Ordaz found a large quantity of sulphur in the mountain, of which Cortes made gunpowder, when it was much wanted by the army.

Cortés having continued twenty days at Tlascala, during which he was entertained with all possible marks of respect, declared his resolution of proceeding for Cholula, in which he was opposed by the Tlascalans; who endeavoured to strengthen some arguments that had been before urged by the Zempoallans, by declaring that Cholula was a sacred place, in which were 400 temples, and such malevolent gods, that they terrified the world with prodigies: that he ought not, therefore, to enter their territories, without an assurance of their being propitious. Just about this time new ambassadors arrived from Moteczuma, bringing another present, and that prince's permission for the Spaniards to proceed by the way of Cholula, where he had provided quarters for the reception of the army. The Tlascalans immediately concluded, that there was treachery in the case, and Magiscatzin repeated his remonstrances with such marks of concern, that Cortes called a council in his presence, in which it was agreed, that it was impossible to avoid the road proposed by the emperor of Mexico, without discovering a suspicion of his sincerity; that whether this suspicion was well or ill founded, it would not be proper to disclose it, and that it would be equally dangerous to leave enemies behind them. Cortes on the day of his departure, drew up the Spaniards and the Zempoallan auxiliaries,

liaries, and was much surpris'd to find the whole force of the republic and her allies ready in the field, distinguished by the colour of their feathers, and their different ensigns: but Cortes insisted upon taking only 6000 of the republic's troops, with which he began his march to Cholula. That city was about five leagues distant from Tlascala, and the same evening he halted near a river, within 3 miles of the place, which he was unwilling to enter by night. He was there visited by deputies from the city of distinguished rank, who brought a present of provisions, and excusing themselves for not waiting upon him at Tlascala, on account of his being there in the midst of their enemies; welcomed him and his people to their city. Though Cortes was far from being convinced of their sincerity, he admitted of their excuse, and the next morning proceeded toward Cholula, where he was met by the caciques and priests, attended by a multitude of unarmed people, who had the appearance of being filled with reverence and joy: but they no sooner perceived the body of Tlascalans that marched in the rear, than a disagreeable murmur was heard among the chiefs; upon which Marina was ordered to ask the reason of it, when she returned with an answer, that the Tlascalans being their enemies, could not enter the city in arms, wherefore they earnestly intreated, that he would order them to return. Cortes was disconcerted at this demand, he however desired the Tlascalans to lie without the city, to which they agreed; and they took up their lodgings in a place from which they might easily come to the assistance of the Spaniards, in case of necessity. In short, Cortes entered Cholula amidst the acclamations of the people, and with all the marks of respect shewn to the Spaniards at their entrance into Tlascala.

The city of Cholula stood in an open and delightful plain, and was much frequented by strangers, on account of its being a sanctuary of the gods, and its carrying on a considerable trade. The streets were

spacious, the buildings larger and more beautiful than those of Tlascala. The quarters appointed for the Spaniards were three or four large edifices, contiguous to each other, and sufficient to contain both the Spaniards and the Zempoallans. The Tlascalans chose a place at a small distance from the town, which they secured with some works, formed guards, and placed centinels, in imitation of their European friends; from whom they had obtained some knowledge in the art of war.

In the first three or four days, there was the greatest appearance of tranquillity and friendship, but after that time provisions grew gradually scarce, and an entire stop was put to the entertainments of the caciques. The priests and Motezuma's ambassadors held private conferences, and the people began to look upon the Spaniards with an air of scorn and distaste. This naturally awakened the jealousy of the latter, and Cortes was endeavouring to penetrate into the intentions of the Cholulans, when the whole design was accidentally discovered. Marina had contracted a friendship with an old Indian woman of distinction; who coming one morning to her apartment, begged, with great earnestness, that she would immediately forsake those abominable strangers, and live with her. Marina perceiving that there was something extraordinary in this request, bemoaned her captivity, and acted her part so well, that the Cholulan believing her sincere, told her, that there was no time to be lost, for the Spaniards were devoted to destruction: that Motezuma had sent 20,000 Mexicans to secure the success of the design, of which 6000 chosen men had already entered the city in small parties; that a great quantity of arms was distributed among the inhabitants, who had carried stones up to the tops of their houses, and cut deep trenches across the streets, in which were fixed sharp stakes, which were slightly covered over with earth, for the destruction of the horses:

that the emperor of Mexico had resolved to exterminate all the Christians; but had given orders that some of them should be taken alive, to satisfy his curiosity and zeal for religion; and that he had made the city of Cholula a present of a golden drum to excite their courage. Marina, on obtaining this intelligence, pretended that she was ready to attend her deliverer, and would only go and fetch her jewels; but immediately hastened to Cortes, and told him the whole affair; upon which the Indian woman was seized, and by threats engaged to make a particular confession of the whole: and, in short, he obtained intelligence from several other persons, which put the affair beyond all doubt.

Cortes ordering his captains to assemble, laid before them the whole conspiracy, and proposed a scheme for punishing the Cholulans, to which they unanimously consented. Agreeably to this plan, he let the magistrates know that he should depart the next day; and demanded provisions for his march. The Tlascalans were then ordered to draw near the city at day-break, and to enter the town and join the Spaniards and Zempoallans at the first discharge of the fire-arms. At night, having secured the quarters with guards and centinels, he sent for Montezuma's ambassadors, and told them that he had discovered a conspiracy formed against him by the caciques and citizens of Cholula, whom he was resolved to punish: and that he was not so much provoked at their treacherous intentions toward him, as at their presuming to lay their crime to the charge of the emperor.

Early in the morning came the carriers with some provisions, though in a small quantity, and afterwards a greater number of armed Indians than Cortes had demanded. These he secured in several parts of his quarters, on pretence of forming his battalions. Then putting his men in order, and mounting his horse, he sent for the caciques, and when they

they appeared, told them in a loud and angry voice, That as he had discovered their conspiracy, he would so severely punish them, that they should repent of their treachery. Scarce had he begun to speak, when they hastened away with great expedition to join their own forces, insulting him with threats and abuse, which they uttered as they fled. Cortes then commanded his infantry to fall upon the soldiers, whom he had kept divided in the squares of his quarters, all of whom were soon destroyed, except a few who threw themselves from the walls and escaped. In this scene of confusion above six thousand of the natives and Mexicans were slain. The Tlascalans having pillaged the town, Cortes assigned them lodgings without the city, and then retired to his own quarters; where ordering the principal persons of the town, who had been taken prisoners, together with the priests and Indian woman, whom he had kept confined, to be brought before him, he expressed his concern at their having obliged him to inflict so severe a punishment upon the city, published a general pardon, and desired the caciques to call back the fugitives. The ambassadors congratulated Cortes on his success; and the citizens being encouraged by his offers of peace, returned to their houses, and opened their shops: so that the tumult immediately subsided.

About this time ambassadors arrived from the emperor of Mexico, who had been informed of all that had passed at Cholula; and being willing to escape the suspicion of having had any concern in the affair, not only thanked Cortes for chastizing those traitors, but sent him a present of great value: by which means he thought to lead the Spaniards into a blind security, that they might the easier fall into a snare he had prepared for them.

Cortes having staid fourteen days at Cholula, proceeded toward Mexico; and the first night he lodged in a village, to which the chiefs of the neighbouring

ing towns repaired with presents. From them Cortes heard the same complaints of Motezuma as in the more distant provinces; and was informed that the Mexicans had placed a considerable ambuscade on the other side of a mountain he was to pass the next day: that they had stopped up the high road, and opened another which ended in precipices, and that the Spanish army when perplexed with difficulties, was to be suddenly charged, where their horses could be of no service, and the foot have no room to form. Cortes, though highly incensed at this piece of treachery, stifled his resentment, and the next day prosecuted his march over a very craggy mountain, adjoining to the volcano, proceeding with great caution. When he had reached the top, he perceived the two roads which had been described to him; and turning with great composure to the Mexican ambassadors, he asked the reason why one of them was blocked up with trees and stones, and the other but newly made? To which they answered, that the new road was levelled for his convenience; and the other stopped up, on account of its being more steep and difficult. Cortes reply'd, "You are but little acquainted with the genius of our nation; for we will march in this road for no other reason than its difficulty." He then desired his Indian friends to march before, and remove the obstacles to his passage; which to the amazement of the ambassadors was soon done, for they never dreamt that he suspected their design. The Indians in ambuscade, observing that the Spaniards marched in the royal road, concluded that they were discovered, and began to retire in great disorder; while Cortes descended, without opposition, into the plain, and passed the night in some houses built for the reception of the Mexican merchants, who resorted to the fairs of Cholula.

In the mean time Motezuma being dispirited by these disappointments, grew daily more and more devout;

devout; resorted to the temples; increased the number of human sacrifices; and at length assembling his magicians, ordered them upon pain of death to set out to meet the Spaniards, and either to stupify or overcome them by the force of their enchantments. In compliance with this command, a considerable number of necromancers set out; but having performed their incantations without success, they returned to Motezuma, and told him, that the god Telcatlepuca, from whom famine and plagues proceeded, had appeared to them in a garment girt with a robe of wicker, declaring that Motezuma's ruin was decreed, and the dissolution of the empire at hand. The superstitious king was struck dumb with this report; till at length recovering his speech, he cried, "If our gods forsake us, let the strangers come. It would be dishonourable to turn our backs upon misfortunes:" and then after a short pause, added, "I lament the old men, women and children, who cannot defend themselves." From this moment he began to prepare for the entertainment of the Spaniards. All the discourse of Mexico turned upon their astonishing actions, and the prodigies by which their coming had been foretold; and these topics of conversation produced a prepossession which only could enable such an handful of men to penetrate to the very court of such a powerful prince.

Cortés pursued his march through a delightful country, adorned with groves and beautiful gardens, till he arrived at a village built on a creek of the great lake, where he chose to take up his lodging. Thither the Mexicans resorted with their arms and military ornaments, in such numbers as raised Cortés's suspicions: when in order to keep them at a proper distance he caused some fire-arms and pieces of artillery to be fired in the air, at which they were so terrified, that they hastily retired. However he was visited in the morning by one of Motezuma's nephews,

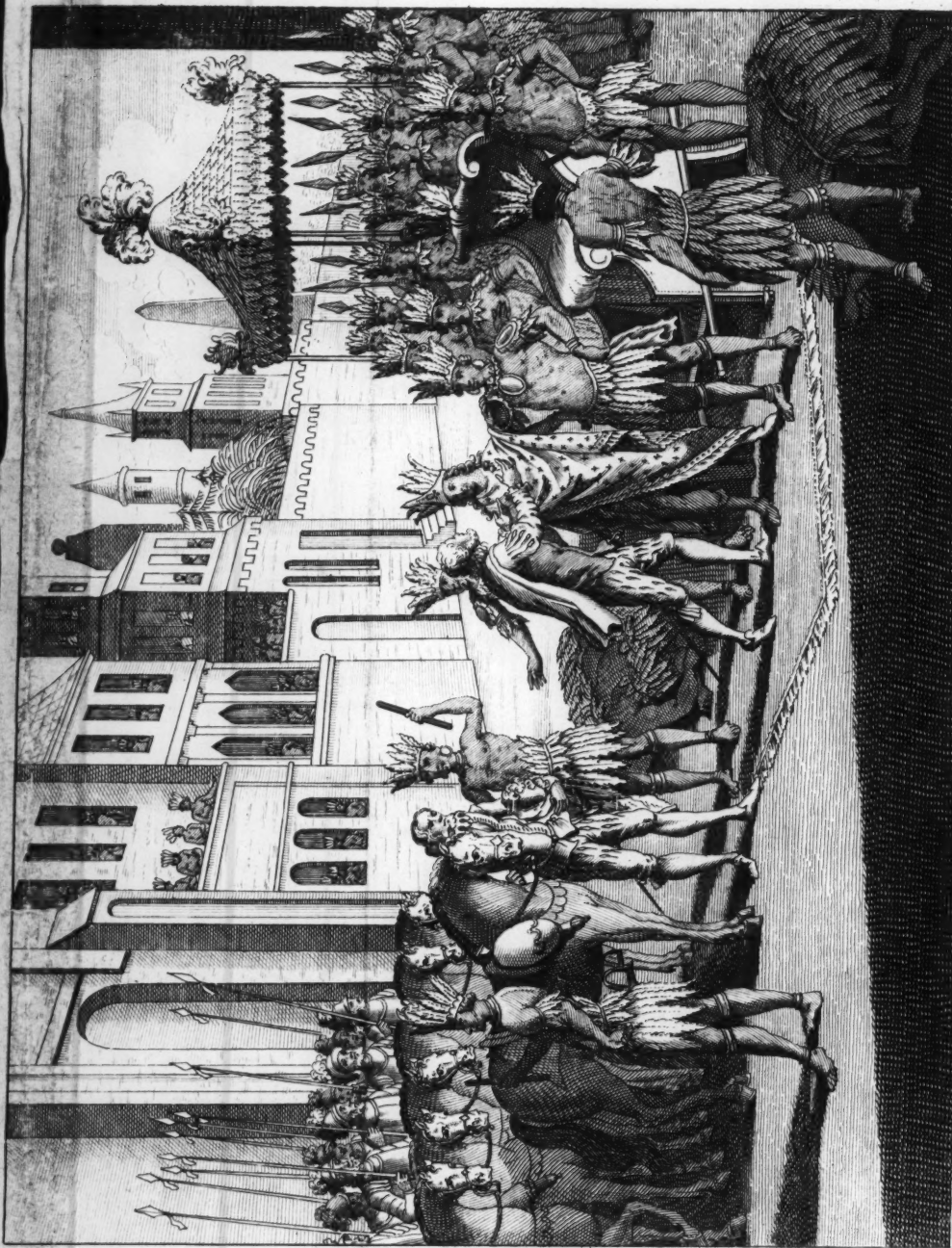
phews, who was lord of Tezeuco; he was a young man, had an agreeable person, and was carried on the shoulders of some of his servants, in a chair adorned with a variety of feathers curiously diversified. He no sooner alighted, than his servants went before to sweep the ground, and keep back the people on each side. Cortes going to the door of his apartment, received him with a low bow, which the prince returned by touching the earth, and then his lips with his right hand; which salutation being passed, he sat down, and with an easy air welcomed him and all his captains: spoke of Motezuma's amicable disposition, and mentioned the difficulties that opposed his going to Mexico, on account of that year's barrenness, by which the people were much distressed, so that strangers could be but ill accommodated where the natives wanted necessaries. The emperor's nephew received a present of some false jewels, at which he shewed great signs of joy; and having accompanied the army as far as Tezeuco, the capital of his dominions, he proceeded to Mexico, to give an account of his embassy.

The city of Tezeuco was one of the largest in the empire, and in grandeur was but little inferior to Mexico itself. It extended along the banks of a spacious lake, at the beginning of the Mexican causeway. The houses were very beautiful, and the streets regular; and what was still more extraordinary, fresh water was brought in pipes to every house. Cortes pursued his march over the causeway, which was twenty feet broad, and composed of stone; and in the midway came to another town of about 2000 houses, called Quitlavaca, which was founded in the water, whence it afterward obtained the name of Venezuela, or Little Venice. Here the cacique, attended by a splendid retinue, came out to meet him, and pressed him to honour his city by spending the night there. To which he thought proper to consent; for he began to suspect that the Mexicans

cans might break the causeway, or obstruct his march by taking away the bridges. From this place the Spaniards had a view of the greatest part of the lake, which was beautified with towns, adorned with towers and pinnacles, gardens and causeways, that seemed to float upon the water. The battlements of the houses were filled with people; multitudes of Indians approached in their canoes to behold the Spaniards: and the whole formed a prospect that was at once new and extremely noble. In this city, they were entertained with a politeness that shewed its neighbourhood to the court.

About break of day the next morning, the Spaniards formed themselves upon the causeway, which was there wide enough to allow eight horses to march in front; and the whole army, which consisted of 450 Spaniards and 6000 Indian allies, proceeded on their march to Iztapalapa; a city built in a most delightful, and commodious situation, part of it upon the lake, and the other part on the shore. It consisted of 10,000 houses of two or three stories high. The lord of this city, accompanied by the princes of two other towns bordering upon the lake, came out to meet Cortes with three separate presents of gold, fowls, fruit, and other provisions. The Spaniards entered the city amidst the loud acclamations of the people; lodgings were prepared for them in the prince's own palace, which was a large and well built edifice, with many apartments both above and below stairs, among which were several chambers with flat roofs of cedar, furnished with cotton hangings, curiously painted. Here were many conduits of excellent water, conveyed by aqueducts from the neighbouring mountains, and a considerable number of large and well cultivated gardens, particularly one that was far more beautiful and spacious than the rest, and belonged to the cacique.

In the morning the Spaniards left the city Iztapalapa, and beginning their march in their accustomed order,



The meeting of Moctezuma and Cortes.

W. H. Stiles

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order, soon discovered the great city of Mexico, distinguished above the rest by the height of its towers, and the grandeur and multiplicity of its buildings. On their having marched about half way, they were met by a body of about 4000 nobles and officers of the city, who came out to meet them; and who having paid their obedience, turned about and advanced before the troops. At a small distance from Mexico, the causeway was crossed by a bulwark of stone, where the entrance into the city was secured by gates, a draw-bridge, and a second fortification. The nobles had no sooner passed on the other side of the bridge, than they fell back on each side, and made a lane for the army to pass through, when there appeared a spacious street, the houses of which were uniformly built, and the windows and battlements filled with spectators; though no body was seen passing through the streets: for Motezuma had given orders for their being cleared, as he had himself resolved to shew Cortes an extraordinary mark of favour by his coming out to meet him.

Scarce had the Spaniards entered the city, when they perceived the first troop of the royal retinue, which consisted of 200 noblemen of Motezuma's household, uniformly adorned with feathers, who approached in two files with their eyes fixed on the ground; but on their approaching the Spaniards, fell back on each side. Then appeared at a considerable distance a larger company more richly adorned, in the midst of whom was Motezuma in a chariot of burnished gold, surrounded with beautiful feathers, and carried on the shoulders of his favourites; while four persons of distinction held over his head a canopy of green feathers, interwoven with ornaments of silver. He was preceded by three officers with golden rods, which they from time to time lifted up as a signal of the emperor's approach, that all might prostrate themselves, and hide their heads. Cortes dismounted at a small distance, and Motezuma at the same time

alighted from his chariot, when some of the Indians advanced before and spread carpets, that his feet might not touch the ground. He came forward with a slow and solemn pace, leaning upon his cousins, the princes of Tezeuco and Iztapalapa. He was about forty years of age, of a middle stature, and had a good presence; but his constitution seemed rather delicate than robust. He had an aquiline nose, and a fairer complexion than the rest of the Mexicans: his eyes were lively, and his hair reached a little below his ears; but his look, though thoughtful, was majestic. He wore on his head a kind of golden mitre; a mantle of fine cotton covered with gold, pearls, and precious stones, was carelessly tied on his shoulders; and his shoes, which resembled the sandals of the Romans, consisted of a gold sole, bound to his foot, with studded straps that came round a part of his leg.

Cortes, on seeing him, hastily advanced, and made a profound reverence, which Motezuma returned in the manner of his country, by touching the ground with his hand and kissing it: at which the Mexicans were greatly astonished, since they had never seen any of their emperors give such an instance of condescension. Cortes wore about his neck a chain of glass, curiously set in imitation of diamonds and emeralds, which he had reserved as a present for his first audience; and coming up close to the emperor, he threw it about his neck. The princes who supported him, shewed some emotion, and interposed to prevent Cortes, signifying that it was unlawful to approach so near: but they were reprimanded by Motezuma, who bowed his head to shew that he accepted the present; and which he returned, by putting upon Cortes's neck a rich ornament of crimson shells, joined together with great art, at each of which hung four crabs of gold of excellent workmanship. Cortes then made a short speech; which being answered by Motezuma, he ordered one of the supporters to
conduct

conduct the stranger to his lodging, and then leaning on the other, went to his chair and returned to the palace.

In this manner Cortes entered the city of Mexico on the 8th of November, 1519. One of the royal palaces was provided for the Spaniards. It was built by Motezuma's father, and was large enough to lodge the whole army. It had very thick stone walls; was flanked with towers, and many of the chambers were furnished with cotton hangings, and feather-work of various colours. The chairs were formed out of solid pieces of wood, and the bedsteads had curtains like pavilions; the beds themselves were of palm-mats, and the bolsters of the same, rolled up. Cortes entered these lodgings a little after twelve at noon; and had no sooner distributed his guards and placed his artillery before the gate, than he found a splendid banquet prepared for himself and his officers, and great plenty of provisions dressed for the soldiers, with many Mexicans who immediately waited upon them in the most profound silence.

In the evening Cortes was visited by Motezuma, who came in the same state as before. Cortes went to the principal square to meet him; and after making a profound reverence, entered the apartment with Motezuma, who took his seat with an air of majesty, and ordered a chair to be brought for Cortes: when the company retiring to some distance, he is said to have addressed himself to him to the following purpose: "Before you mention the particulars
 " of your embassy, illustrious captain, let you and I
 " lay aside the prejudices we have each imbibed of
 " the other, from the misrepresentations of common
 " report. You have been in some places told that I
 " am a god; that my power is invincible, and my
 " riches immense; that my palaces are covered with
 " gold, and that the earth groans beneath the weight
 " of my treasure. Upon other occasions, you have
 " heard that I am a tyrant, insolent, cruel, and un-
 " just;

“ just ; but you have been imposed upon by both
“ representations : this arm of flesh and blood shews
“ that I am mortal, and these walls and roofs demon-
“ strate that my palaces are not covered with
“ gold ; and from these instances, you may conclude
“ that the account of my vices is also exaggerated,
“ by the malice of my enemies. We have also re-
“ ceived various accounts of you ; some have affirmed
“ that you are gods who grasp the thunder, com-
“ mand the elements, and compel the beasts of the
“ forest to obey your directions. You have been re-
“ presented by others as proud, vindictive, volup-
“ tuous, and transported with an insatiable thirst
“ after the gold which our country produces. Yet
“ I now see that I have been alike deceived by these
“ different accounts. You are made like other men ;
“ and only distinguished from us, by the particulari-
“ ties of your own country. The beasts that so readily
“ obey you, are large deer trained up to discipline.
“ Your arms that produced lightning, I conceive to
“ be barrels of metal, and their effect like that of
“ our farbacans, proceeds from air compressed and
“ striving for vent ; and as to fire, noise and smoke,
“ they surely are owing to enchantment. In a word,
“ we believe that the great prince, to whom you pay
“ obedience, is a descendant of Quezalcoal, lord of
“ the seven caves of the Navatlaques, and lawful
“ sovereign of the seven nations that gave rise to the
“ Mexican empire. For from the tradition of many
“ ages, we know that he left these countries to con-
“ quer new regions in the east, with a promise, that in
“ process of time, his descendants should return to new-
“ model our laws, and reform our government. We
“ have therefore already determined, that every thing
“ shall be done for the honour of a prince who is
“ the offspring of such an illustrious progenitor.”
To this speech Cortes replied to the following pur-
pose : “ We have, it is true, Sir, heard very oppo-
“ site accounts of your character, which some have
“ extolled,

“ extolled, and others have vilified ; but as the Spaniards have penetration enough to distinguish the colours of discourse, we have given no credit either to your flatterers or your rebels, but come into your presence with full assurance of your being a great and equitable prince. You justly conclude we are mortal ; though more intelligent and valiant than your vassals. Our beasts are not deer, but are of a more generous species ; inclined to war, and aspiring, with a kind of ambition, to the glory of their masters : and as to our arms, they are made by human industry, without the assistance of magic, an abominable art which we detest. I am come as ambassador to your majesty from the most powerful monarch on whom the sun sheds his beams, at his first rising. He desires to be your friend and confederate ; and though according to your traditions he might pretend to be more absolute in these dominions, he makes no other use of his authority, but to promote your advantage, and to convince you that you have departed from the worship of the true God, to pay your adoration to insensible pieces of wood, carved out by your own hands, to whom you inhumanly sacrifice your fellow creatures.” He made use of other arguments to induce Motezuma to renounce his idolatry ; and having ended his speech, the emperor arose, saying, “ I accept the friendship and confederacy of the great descendant of Quezalcoal ; but all gods are good, and yours may be so without offence to mine. In the mean time repose yourselves, you are in your own house, where you shall be punctually served with all possible respect.” He then gave orders for some Mexicans without to bring in a present that he designed for Cortes, and which was a very valuable one, consisting of pieces of gold, cotton robes, and other curiosities ; and at the same time, with an air of chearful generosity, he distribut-

ed some jewels among the Spaniards who were present.

The next day Cortes demanded an audience, which was immediately granted; he therefore dressed himself in his gayest apparel, without quitting his arms, and set out for the palace with Juan Velasquez de Leon, Diégo de Ordaz, Pedro de Alverado, and six or seven favourite soldiers. The streets were crowded with vast multitudes of people, who made way to let them pass, often pronouncing amidst their acclamations the word *Teule*, or God; with which the Spaniards were pleased, from the opinion that this extraordinary veneration would contribute to their success. At some distance appeared Motezuma's palace; a prodigious pile of building which had thirty gates that opened to as many different streets. The principal front took up one side of a spacious square, and was of red, white, and black jasper, beautifully polished; and in a large shield over the gate, was represented Motezuma's arms, a griffin with its wings extended, holding a tyger in its talons. When the Spaniards approached this entrance, the Mexicans who accompanied Cortes, walked up to one side of it; then retiring, formed a semicircle, that they might enter two a-breast: for it was esteemed irreverent to enter the royal palace in a crowd. After their having passed three squares, they reached Motezuma's apartments, which they admired for their largeness and furniture. The walls were covered with cotton hangings, interwoven with furs; and the innermost rooms were adorned with a very beautiful kind of tapestry, composed of feathers. The floors were covered with mats, and the roofs were of cypress, cedar, and other kinds of odoriferous woods, adorned with foliages and reliefs; and though the use of nails was unknown to the Mexicans, the ceilings were so contrived, that the planks supported each other. In these spacious rooms were officers who guarded

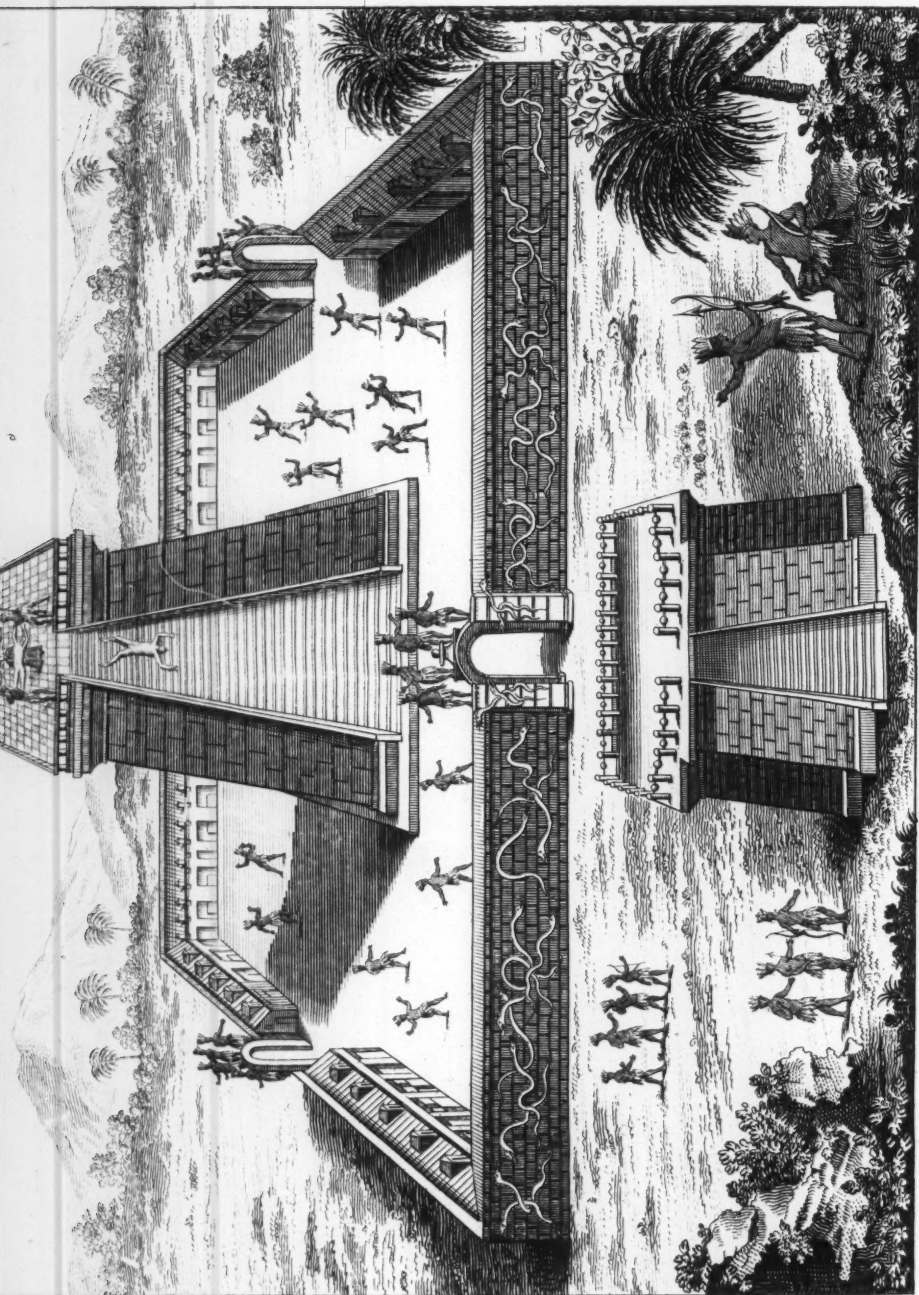
guarded the entrance, and at the door of the anti-chamber, were the nobility and magistrates, who received Cortes with much civility; but detained him till they had taken off their sandals and rich mantles, and put on others, that made a less splendid appearance: for they thought it presumptuous to appear in their richest apparel before the emperor. Motezuma, who was standing with all his ensigns of royalty about him, advanced some steps to meet Cortes; who coming forward with a low bow, the emperor laid his hands upon his shoulders, gave the rest of the Spaniards a smile, and then seating himself, desired them to sit, and entered into conversation with great freedom; asked several questions, relating to the manners and politics of the eastern countries, and made very judicious remarks upon the answers of Cortes. He then mentioned, how much the Mexicans were obliged to the descendants of their first king; and seemed to rejoice in having the prophecy fulfilled in his reign. Cortes turned the discourse upon religion, and particularly exclaimed against human sacrifices with such warmth, that Motezuma from that day banished dishes of human flesh from his table; though he maintained, that there was no cruelty in offering to the gods the prisoners of war, who were already condemned to death.

Some days after this interview, Motezuma, who was still very fond of his own religion, conducted Cortes and some of his principal officers, with father Bartholomew, to the chief temple, in order to let them see its magnificence; but before they were admitted, he cautioned them to behave with decency. The gates of this spacious edifice being opened, he himself explained the particulars of their worship with such solemnity, as excited the laughter of the Spaniards, whose rudeness upon this occasion is not excusable. Cortes being here transported by a ridiculous and unreasonable zeal, cried to Motezuma, "Allow me, Sir, to fix the cross of Christ

“ before these images of the devil, and you will see
“ whether they deserve adoration or contempt.” Both
Motezuma and the priests were enraged at this pro-
posal: the former desired them to withdraw, and
following him to the threshold, added, “ You may
“ return to your house, my friends; but I shall stay
“ to ask pardon of my gods, for having suffered
“ you to proceed so far.” Yet notwithstanding his zeal
for his religion, he was so far from thinking of tyrannizing over the consciences of the Spaniards, that he ordered workmen to be sent to assist them in fitting up a chapel; in which both he and his chiefs were frequently present when mass was performed.

It may here be proper to give a more particular description of the city of Mexico, which was divided into two parts: one, where the meaner sort resided, was called Tlatelulco; while the other, appropriated to the court and the nobility, had the name of Mexico; which from thence was given to the whole city, that contained 60,000 families. This capital stood in a spacious plain, encompassed by high rocks and mountains; from which many rivulets falling down into the valley, formed several lakes: among which there were two that extended about 30 leagues in circumference, and were surrounded by fifty towns. These lakes had a communication with each other through openings left in a stone wall, by which they were divided; and over these openings were wooden bridges, with sluices on each side, by which the lower lake was supplied from the other. The water of the uppermost was fresh, while that of the lower was salt; which solely proceeded from the nature of the soil. The city of Mexico stood in the middle of the salt lake, in 19°. 13'. north latitude, yet it enjoyed a mild and healthy climate. It was joined to the main-land by three noble causeways. The streets were straight and large, and had a great number of canals for the convenience of water-carriage, in barks and canoes of different sizes; above





The Great Temple of Mexico.

50,000 of which belonged to the city. All the public edifices and houses of the nobility were built of stone; and though the dwellings of the common people were meaner, and more irregular, they, as well as the others, were laid out in such a manner, as to form several courts, in which their merchandize was exposed to sale.

Their temples, as has been already observed, were spacious and magnificent, particularly that dedicated to Vitzliputzli, their god of war, their supreme deity. A wall of hewn stone, on which were cut wreaths of serpents, surrounded a large square; and though the houses of the priests and their servants were erected round the inside of this wall, there was left room sufficient for 10,000 persons to dance upon their solemn festivals. On each side of the wall was a gate, over which were four statues of stone, representing some inferior deities; to whom the people paid reverence as they entered. At a small distance from the principal gate, was a place of worship, flat on the top; the four sides of which were encompassed by trunks of trees, with holes bored in them at equal distances, through which passed several bars run through the heads of men who had been sacrificed. In the centre of the square stood a lofty stone tower, with a stair-case that consisted of 120 steps, by which the people ascended to the top, where was a flat pavement 40 feet square, beautifully paved with jasper, and surrounded with a balustrade of a serpentine form. At the top of the stairs stood two marble statues, well executed, supporting two large candlesticks of an extraordinary make. A little farther was a green stone, raised about three feet from the pavement, on which the priests extended the miserable victim, while they opened his breast and plucked out his heart. Beyond this stone stood a chapel of excellent workmanship, which fronted the stair-case; and here the idol was placed upon a high altar, surrounded with curtains. This idol was in
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the form of a man sitting in a chair, sustained by a blue globe, furnished with four rods, which project from the sides, each terminating in a serpent's head. By these rods, the idol was carried by the priests on their shoulders, when it was exposed to public view : on the head of the god was an helmet, composed of plumes, in the form of a bird, with a bill and crest of burnished gold. The countenance of this deity was horrible. The ornaments were of inestimable value. The city of Mexico had eight temples, built nearly in the same manner; but those of a smaller size, dedicated to different idols, amounted to 2000.

Motezuma had, beside the palace in which he kept his court, several magnificent pleasure-houses; one of which was a noble building, supported by pillars of jasper. In this edifice he had an aviary of those birds that are most remarkable on account of their singing and feathers; and these were so numerous, that three hundred men were said to be employed in attending them. At a small distance was another very large edifice, where Motezuma's fowlers resided, and took care of his birds of prey; among which were some bred to the game, like our hawks: and in the same place were eagles of an extraordinary size, and extremely voracious. In the second square of this last building were kept the wild beasts, as lions, tigers, bears, and Mexican bulls, which are remarkably fierce and strong; and over their dens was a large apartment, where buffoons and monsters were kept for the emperor's diversion. All these several houses had spacious and well cultivated gardens, in which were a great variety of flowers and medicinal herbs set in squares. They were also adorned with fountains and beautiful summer houses.

But the most singular of all Motezuma's edifices was his house of sorrow, to which he retired in case of any public calamity, or at the death of a favourite relation. It was well calculated for promoting gloomy reflections; for the walls, roofs, and ornaments

ments were black, and no other light was admitted, but what proceeded from some narrow openings in the walls, which were but just sufficient to discover the gloomy objects within.

Motezuma had also several pleasant country retreats, and large forests for the chase of wild beasts, in which he greatly delighted. In these sports a number of persons surrounded the game, and contracted the circle into a certain space, where he beheld the combats of his huntsmen with the wild beasts, in which the Mexicans were equally dexterous and daring.

Motezuma had two sorts of guards; the one of 200 nobles, who were obliged to attend every day at the palace, to guard his person. This attendance was divided between two bodies that were upon duty by turns, comprehending the lords of the whole empire, who were obliged to come to court from the most distant provinces. This was a scheme which Motezuma himself had contrived for keeping the nobility in dependance, and rendering himself acquainted with their persons, capacities and dispositions. His other guards were composed of soldiers, who filled the courts of the palace, and were posted in bodies at the principal gates.

Motezuma had two wives, who bore the title of queens, and were the daughters of tributary princes; these were lodged in separate apartments, and lived in equal splendor. His concubines, however, who were selected from the most beautiful women throughout his dominions, exceeded 3000; and these, when dismissed, were married by persons of the first quality: for they were generally rich, and thought to be highly honoured by their being admitted to the emperor's embraces.

Though he often ate in public, it was always alone. His table was generally furnished with above 200 dishes of different meats, some of which were well seasoned. Of these he chose a certain number for

his own use, and the rest were divided among the nobles and his guards. He sat on a little stool at a large low table; the cloths and napkins of which were of fine cotton. His dining-room was divided in the middle by a rail, which kept both the crowd and his own domestics at a distance, without obstructing the view; and within the rail he was attended by three or four old favourite servants. The dishes were brought in by twenty women richly ornamented, who served up the meat, and presented him with the cup. The cloths and napkins, as well as all the dishes of fine earthen ware, on their being once used, were distributed among the servants. After his meals he took a kind of chocolate, and smoked tobacco perfumed with liquid amber. Indeed the juice of this herb was one of the ingredients with which the priests intoxicated themselves, whenever they were obliged to deliver an oracular answer. There were generally at the table three or four buffoons; who diverted the emperor with their ludicrous talents; and at proper intervals he was entertained with music, composed of pipes and instruments made of sea shells, accompanied by voices, which formed an agreeable concert. The subject of these songs was generally the memorable actions of their kings, and the exploits of their ancestors. They had also merry songs used in dancing; when the voice was accompanied with two little drums, made of hollow pieces of wood, of different sizes and sounds.

Upon other occasions the people assembled in the porches and squares of the temples, made matches for wrestling, running races, and shooting at a mark. Here were likewise rope-dancers, who performed with surprising dexterity, without the assistance of poles; and also great numbers of people playing at ball, near the statue of an idol brought out by the priests, as the superintendant of that diversion. In short, the people of Mexico were almost daily di-

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verted with such spectacles and amusements, as were calculated by Motezuma to entertain them, and prevent their employing their thoughts to his prejudice.

The great revenue which enabled Motezuma to support the expence of his court, and to keep two large armies constantly in the field, arose from the contributions levied on the subject, which amounted to one third of the annual produce of that vast empire; from the salt-works and other taxes, established from time immemorial, and from the produce of the gold and silver mines. All the towns in the neighbourhood of Mexico provided men for the king's works, and fuel for the palace. The nobility were obliged to guard the emperor's person, to serve in his armies with a certain number of vassals, and to make him presents; which, though he received as gifts, they durst not neglect. He had different treasures for all the different kinds of contributions; and the tribunal of the crown revenue, having issued out what was necessary for the expence of the palaces, and for war, converted the overplus into ingots of gold. Beside this tribunal, there was a council of justice, which received appeals from inferior courts; a council of state, and a council of war; judges of commerce, and other officers. As they had no written laws, but were governed by the customs and institutions of their ancestors, their trials were summary and verbal: murder, theft, adultery, and any slight disrespect toward the emperor, were punished with death; but all other crimes were easily pardoned.

When an emperor was elected, he was obliged to obtain some victory over his enemies, before he was permitted to ascend the throne: but having thus proved himself qualified for the task of reigning, by his success, he returned in triumph; and having made his public entry with great state and solemnity, all the nobility, ministers, and priests, attended him

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to the temple of the god of war, where he alighted from his chariot, and having offered the accustomed sacrifice, was clothed by the electors in royal robes; who also put into his right hand, a golden sword, as an ensign of justice; and in his left, a bow and arrows, to signify his power and command in war. Then the cacique of Tezeuco placed a kind of gold mitre on his head. This ceremony being performed, one of the most eloquent of the magistrates made a speech, in which he congratulated him on his new dignity; expatiated on the cares and troubles that attend a throne, and upon the duty of a sovereign. The chief priest then approaching, tendered him an oath; by which he bound himself to maintain the religion of his ancestors, and the laws and customs of the empire; to treat his vassals with lenity: and absurdly promised to procure seasonable rains, to prevent sterility, inundations, and the malignant influences of the sun and planets.

New-born infants were taken with great solemnity to the temples, where the priests gave them some admonitions relating to the troubles to which they were born. When the child was the son of one of the nobles, they put a sword into his right hand; and upon his left arm a shield, kept in the temple for that purpose. If he was of a plebeian extraction, they put mechanical instruments in his hands; but the females of both ranks were presented with the spindle and distaff. After this ceremony was performed, the infant was taken to the altar, and his privities pricked with a thorn, or cut with a lancet of flint, so as to draw a few drops of blood; which was no sooner done, than they were sprinkled with water. The children of the plebeians were instructed in public schools, and those of the nobility in well endowed colleges, where they passed through three successive classes; in the first of which they were taught to read the characters and hieroglyphics, and to repeat the historical songs: in the second, they
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were instructed in the rules of civility, modesty, and a polite behaviour: and in the third, they were inured to robust exercises, as wrestling, managing their arms; the hardships of suffering hunger and thirst, and the inclemencies of the weather. Having acquired these qualifications, the young noblemen who were designed for war, were sent as volunteers to the army, in order to accustom them to dangers and hardships; where they were often placed among the baggage-men, and their shoulders loaded with provisions, to mortify their vanity, and inure their bodies to fatigue. After which they were obliged to give some proofs of valour, before they could be enrolled as soldiers.

Their marriage ceremony was very simple: for the contract being settled, the parties appeared in the temple; when the priest having examined them with respect to their mutual passion, he tied a tip of the woman's veil to the corner of the bridegroom's garment, and accompanied them, joined in this manner, to their habitation, where they went seven times round the fire, and then sitting down to receive an equal share of the heat, the marriage was completed. The husband then requested the bride's portion; but, in case of separation, was afterward obliged to return it, which was often effected by mutual consent. In that case, the boys remained with the father, and the girls with the mother; and the marriage being thus dissolved, the parties were forbid to join again on pain of death.

The Mexicans believed the immortality of the soul, and that it was rewarded or punished in a future state; but buried gold and silver with the deceased to defray the expence of their journey, which they imagined to be long and troublesome. Some servants were even slain to bear them company; and the wives frequently killed themselves in order to accompany their husbands: and when the emperor died,

all his household officers and favourites were obliged to follow him to the other world.

The Mexican year, as well as ours, consisted of 365 days, but was divided into eighteen months, of twenty days each; and at the end of the year, five days appropriated to pleasure, and a cessation from business, were added to make it answer the course of the sun. They had also a kind of weeks of thirteen days, to which different names were given; and a much longer period, stiled ages, which consisted of four weeks of years. This large period was represented in a very singular manner: In the centre of a circle, divided into fifty two degrees, allowing a year for each, they painted the sun; from whose rays proceeded four lines of different colours, which equally divided the circumference, leaving thirteen degrees to each quarter: and here the sun had his prosperous or adverse aspects, according to the colour of the line. In a larger circle, which inclosed the other, they marked with their characters the chief occurrences of the age; and these secular annals were considered as public instruments that served for proofs of historical facts.

The Mexicans seemed to vie with each other, in expressing their regard for the Spaniards. They were daily entertained with some new diversion, at which Motezuma appeared in person; a condescension that inspired the people with a higher reverence and esteem for these strangers. He appeared particularly fond of Cortes; spending great part of his time with him: and contracted an acquaintance with his captains, to whom he frequently made presents; in which he distinguished the merit of each with great discernment. Thus the Spaniards enjoyed an agreeable repose; but were at length alarmed by a letter from Vera Cruz, brought by two Tlascalcan soldiers, who had disguised themselves, so as to appear like Mexicans, and had entered the city unperceived.

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This letter informed Cortes, that some of the Indians in alliance with the Spaniards complained to Juan de Escalante, that Qualpopoca, one of Motezuma's generals, had assembled a great body of forces upon the frontiers of Zempoalla, where they levied contributions with great cruelty. Upon which Escalante sent to desire the Mexican general to suspend hostilities till further orders should come from Mexico, where the Spaniards, the allies of those people, were entertained by Motezuma with great hospitality. But Qualpopoca sending a very insolent answer, Escalante was so provoked, that he marched against him at the head of forty Spaniards, and 2000 Indians; and coming to an engagement, he put the Mexicans to flight; and notwithstanding his being almost entirely abandoned by his Indian allies, pursued them to the next town, where he attacked them with such resolution, that he entirely routed and dislodged them. This victory however cost the Spaniards very dear; for Juan de Escalante was mortally wounded, six of the soldiers also received several wounds, and Juan de Arguillo, a man of extraordinary stature, was carried off alive. In this letter the council of Vera Cruz desired Cortes to appoint them a new governor, and to give directions relating to their affairs.

Cortes being greatly concerned at the loss of Juan de Escalante, he communicated the letter to his captains; desired that each of them would give his opinion freely at their next meeting; and the following morning sent for some of the most sensible Indians in his army, when having asked them, if they had lately perceived any change in the behaviour or discourse of the Mexicans? They informed him, that the nobles appeared pensive and mysterious; that they had heard some of the people talk of breaking down the causeway; and that there was a report that a Spaniard's head had been presented to Motezuma, who viewed it with astonishment on account of its

largeness, and the fierceness of its aspect, and immediately ordered it to be concealed.

From these circumstances, and particularly that of the head, which Cortes supposed belonged to Arguillo, he immediately concluded, that the Mexicans were resolved on his destruction, and Motezuma himself had concerted the ruin of the Spaniards; he therefore immediately assembled his council, composed of the captains and some favourite soldiers, and having told them his hints he had received from the Indians, asked their advice. Some proposed that they should retire privately in the night; others that they should obtain a passport from Motezuma, and then retire publicly, and march to the relief of Vera Cruz: but the greatest part were of opinion, that they should continue at Mexico without seeming to know what had passed at Vera Cruz, till they could find a proper opportunity for retreating with safety. However none of these schemes were approved by Cortes, who proposed their seizing Motezuma, conveying him to their own quarters, and detaining him there as an hostage for the sincerity of his people. This daring proposal he supported with all his eloquence, and with such success, that it was unanimously applauded.

Cortes having chosen the hour, when the Spaniards were accustomed to wait upon Motezuma, for the execution of his bold project, ordered his people to arm themselves in their quarters, privately to saddle their horses, and to wait without noise for farther instructions. He then occupied all the avenues to the palace, with small scattered detachments; and directing thirty choice men to follow him at a distance, went thither attended by four of his captains, who, as they usually carried their arms with them, their doing so now occasioned no suspicions. Motezuma, according to custom, came out of his apartment to receive the visit, and his servants retired,

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as usual, to another part of the palace; when Cortes, with an air of resentment, complained of the Mexican general for attacking his confederates, in violation of a peace, under which they thought themselves secure; for murdering a Spaniard in cold blood, and endeavouring to vindicate his perfidious conduct, by declaring that he acted in obedience to his majesty's commands.

On hearing this charge, Motezuma changed colour, but denied it with marks of confusion; when Cortes, pretending to believe him innocent, replied, that after such a declaration made by his general, neither the Spaniards nor his own subjects would be undeceived, unless he took some extraordinary step to efface the impression made by such a calumny. That he was therefore come to beg, he would without any disturbance repair with him to the Spanish quarters; where he should be treated with all the reverence and respect due to his majesty, till his character should be vindicated to the satisfaction of all mankind. Motezuma, amazed and incensed at the boldness of this request, replied, that princes of his rank were not accustomed to go tamely to prison; nor would his subjects permit his so far forgetting his duty, as to stoop to so base a compliance. Notwithstanding Cortes made use of other arguments, he still refused to leave his palace; but being sensible of his danger, offered to send immediately for Quallpopoca, and to deliver him with all his officers into Cortes's hands, and in the mean time to give him two of his sons as hostages for the performance of his promise. Cortes, however, was not satisfied with these expedients; and his captains, apprehending that the delay might be dangerous, began to grow clamorous; and, among others, Juan Velasquez de Leon, called aloud, since he will not hear reason, let us seize him by force, or kill him on the spot. The emperor hearing this uttered in an angry tone, desired to know what he said; when Marina,

to whom he addressed himself, earnestly exhorted him, as his own vassal and subject, to comply without hesitation, in order to preserve his life; which had such an effect, that he instantly rose from his seat, and said to Cortes, "I trust myself in your hands, let us go to your quarters, for so the gods have decreed." He then ordered his servants to get ready his equipage; told his ministers that he had resolved to pass some days in the Spanish quarters, and ordered the captain of the guard to march with a body of troops and take Qualpopoca and his officers prisoners, that they might suffer for having invaded Zempoalla.

Motezuma having given these directions, which Marina explained to Cortes and his officers, he left the palace with his usual attendants; the Spaniards, on pretence of respect, marching close by his chariot, which, as usual, was carried on the shoulders of his nobles. However, a report was instantly spread, that the strangers seized the emperor's person; when the streets were suddenly filled with crowds of people, who rent the air with their cries; threw themselves on the ground, shedding floods of tears for their unhappy prince; and a general insurrection would have certainly followed, had not Motezuma, with a serene countenance commanded silence, and assured the populace that he was going of his own accord to spend a few days with his friends the Spaniards. On his reaching their quarters he ordered his guards to disperse the populace, and his ministers to make it known, that the least tumult or disturbance, should be punished with death. He then behaved in a very courteous manner to the Spanish soldiers, who came out to receive him; and having chosen an apartment, at some distance from those in the possession of the Spaniards, it was instantly furnished for his reception.

Cortes immediately doubled the guards, posted centinels at all the avenues; and, under the pretence
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of keeping his majesty from being crowded, restricted the ministers and courtiers that waited upon Motezuma to a certain number. Mean while he preserved all the formalities of decorum, and treated the emperor with his usual respect, while that prince appeared chearful and in good humour, and seemed perfectly pleased with his situation. He still exercised all the functions of royalty, held councils, granted audiences, and with the same freedom as usual, regulated both the civil and military government of his kingdom. His table was supplied from the palace in a most plentiful manner, in order that the Spaniards might feast on the superfluity; and he constantly sent some delicacies to Cortes and his captains, each of whom he could call by their names. While he occasionally conversed with them, he studied their tempers, and without descending beneath the dignity of his character, seasoned his discourse with pleasantry. All the time in which he was not employed in business, he passed among them; and sometimes he played with Cortes at Tololoque, a game which consisted of tipping down small pins of gold, with little balls of the same metal; and as they played for jewels and trinkets, the emperor distributed his winnings among the Spaniards, and Cortes shared his good fortune among Motezuma's inferior officers.

While things were in this situation, the captain of the guard returned with Qualpopoca, his son, and fifteen of the nobles; they had surrendered themselves at the sight of the royal signet, and now arrived in about twenty days after the beginning of Motezuma's confinement. Many great men went out to meet them, and their general was brought in upon men's shoulders, when Qualpopoca appearing before the emperor, the latter upbraided him for having killed the Spaniard, and delivered him and the other officers into the hands of Cortes, to whom they confessed themselves guilty of having violated the peace of their own accord, and of their having ordered Arguillo to

be put to death, till finding that the Spanish general resolved to take away their lives, they laid the whole blame upon the emperor, whose orders they had obeyed. Cortes, however, treated this as a malicious aspersion, brought them to a formal trial, in which the Spaniards were both the judges and accusers, and cruelly sentenced them to be burned alive.

To deter Motezuma from endeavouring to prevent the execution of this sentence, the general resolved on taking another surprising step. He went into that prince's presence, accompanied by Marina, and three or four captains, with a common soldier carrying fetters, and having saluted the emperor with his usual respect, assumed a peremptory look, and in a loud voice told him, that Qualpopoca and his officers had acknowledged the crimes for which they were condemned to death; but as they pretended they had done nothing without his orders, it was necessary that he should suffer some personal mortification. He then, with an air of authority, commanded the soldier to shackle Motezuma, and then leaving him, gave orders to the guards to prevent his having any communication with his ministers.

Motezuma's astonishment at being treated in this ignominious manner, was so great, that he had neither power to resist, nor speech to complain; while his servants, without uttering a word, threw themselves at his feet, and, with signs of the deepest affliction, supported the weight of his fetters, to prevent their hurting his legs. However, when he first recovered from his amazement, he flew into a transport of rage; but soon recovering himself collected his fortitude, and believing his life in danger, waited his fate with dignity and resignation.

In the mean time Cortes ordered the Mexican general, with his son and the rest of the officers, to be conducted under a strong guard of Spaniards, to a large square, where, in the presence of an innumerable concourse of people, their hands and feet were bound,
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after which they were placed on a large pile of broken bows and arrows; and fire being set to it, they were soon burned, to the amazement of all the spectators, who, without making the least disturbance, were struck with awe and admiration. Cortes then returned to Motezuma's apartment, and telling him with a smile, that the traitors who had presumed to blemish his majesty's character, had now received their just punishment, he stooped down, and with his own hands took off the fetters. The emperor received his liberty with a tumultuous joy, embraced Cortes several times, and sitting both of them down together, entered into amicable conversation, during which the Spanish general let him know, that as the cause of his detention was now removed, he might return to his palace whenever he pleased. This was however no more than a political offer, which he knew he would not embrace; for Marina had been ordered to infuse into him a firm belief, that if he quitted the Spanish quarters, before Cortes's departure, he would suffer greatly in his reputation, as soon as it should be known that he received his liberty from the hand of another. He therefore declined the offer, and made a merit of his stay by saying, that on his return to his palace, his nobility and ministers would press him to take up arms, in order to obtain satisfaction for the injury he had undergone; and therefore, out of regard to the Spaniards, he would remain where he was.

From this time the emperor seemed perfectly satisfied with his situation, and at length had such confidence in Cortes, that he represented to him the expediency of allowing him to visit some of his temples, that his subjects might no longer look upon him as a prisoner; which Cortes readily granted, upon condition that human sacrifices should be abolished. His first excursion was to the principal temple, which he entered with his usual pomp and attendance, and his appearance was celebrated with the joyful acclamations of the people, among whom he distributed his bounty

with uncommon liberality. From this time he went abroad as often as he pleased, sometimes to the palace of his wives, and at others to his pleasure-houses, where he enjoyed his former amusements, but never without mentioning it to Cortes, who generally attended him in his parties of diversion, and seemed so highly to engross his favour, that the nobles who had any petition to offer to the emperor, constantly solicited the general's interest, which always proved successful.

But notwithstanding this seeming tranquillity, the broken expressions overheard by the Tlascalans, about breaking the causeways, and removing the bridges, had made such a deep impression upon Cortes's mind, that he resolved to make himself master of the lake, by building two brigantines upon it.

Filled with this idea, he raised Motezuma's curiosity, by describing the manner of sailing with the wind, which was entirely unknown to the Mexicans, and obtained his permission to build two vessels for his majesty's amusement, and the instruction of his subjects. He then ordered the nails, cordage, canvas, and other tackle, belonging to the Spanish ships that had been sunk, to be brought from Vera Cruz, and some builders who had enlisted as soldiers, were immediately set at work, with many of the Mexican carpenters, who followed their directions, so that in a short time the brigantines were compleated, and Motezuma resolved to embark with the Spaniards, in order to have a nearer view of this strange kind of navigation. Great preparations were made for this uncommon spectacle; a prodigious number of canoes belonging to the emperor and others, were finely decorated and manned with the most expert rowers. The Mexicans firmly believing that their boats would exceed the brigantines in swiftness: However, a breeze no sooner sprung up, than these vessels unfurled their sails, and soon left the canoes at a great distance, to the great amazement of the Indians; who could
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form no idea of the European manner of steering and working such floating houses : and they expressly declared, that by means of these wonderful machines, they believed the Spaniards could perfectly command the elements of wind and water. The astonishment of Motezuma was mingled with joy, and he beheld the victory with the highest delight, though it was obtained over his own subjects.

The emperor now became daily more attached to Cortes, while the latter laid hold of this opportunity, to desire his assistance in accomplishing various things he had in view : the first of which was the knowledge of the gold mines ; their situation ; how they were wrought, and what quantity of that precious metal was brought from them. Motezuma gave him very clear and distinct answers to all those inquiries ; and for his further satisfaction, allowed such of his people as he could trust, to go to the mines, both within and without his dominions. Cortes being also desirous of having a map of the coast of the Mexican empire, in order to be the better able to fix upon some port, to which supplies might be sent him, the emperor ordered his painters to draw an exact representation of all his territories, with all the bays, harbours, and creeks upon the coast.

While the Spanish general continued to enjoy Motezuma's favour, a plot was formed, which neither the emperor nor Cortes could foresee. Cacumazin, the emperor's own nephew, who was cacique of Tezucos, being a young man of great vivacity, art, and ambition, under the pretence of delivering Motezuma, entertained designs of ascending the throne of Mexico, either by occasioning an immediate revolution, or by obtaining it by the favour of the people at the next election. Motezuma was no sooner informed of this plot, than he went to communicate the particulars to Cortes, who by means of his spies, was already informed of the whole. He however returned the emperor thanks for his information, and begged

begged to be allowed to march out with the Spaniards, to chastize Cacumazin. Motezuma urged several good arguments against this proposal, desired the general to leave the punishment of the offender to his care, and soon took such measures, that his nephew was seized and brought prisoner to Mexico, where he was closely confined. At this very time Cacumazin had a brother in Mexico, who was a youth of great courage, whom Motezuma had taken into his protection; but a few days before he had narrowly escaped a snare which Cacumazin, in consequence of some domestic jealousies, had laid for his life. Upon this occasion Cortes dissuaded the emperor from putting a prince of the blood to death by a public execution; but advised him to deprive Cacumazin of his rank and dominions, and to bestow them on his brother, who deserved that mark of indulgence. Motezuma was greatly pleased with this advice, which he instantly communicated to his council, who applauded it as equally just and merciful; and this manner of chastizing without bloodshed, being admired by the whole empire, had such an effect on the rest of the conspirators, that they disbanded their troops, and had recourse to the clemency of the emperor, whose pardon they obtained through the intercession of Cortes.

But though Motezuma appeared so well satisfied with Cortes, he was far from being pleased at the Spaniards staying so long in his capital, and several mortifying reflections disturbed his repose. He, however, entirely concealed the disposition of his mind, and when he actually proposed to Cortes the scheme he had formed to get rid of him, Cortes was so far from conceiving it in that light, that he thought it the highest act of favour Motezuma had ever conferred upon him. He took a proper opportunity to inform him, that he was now prepared to make a voluntary acknowledgement of the vassalage he owed to the king of Spain, as the successor of

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Quezalcoal; that he would convoke a general assembly of his nobles for that purpose, and as a mark of that vassalage, would present the most valuable jewels of his treasury to the Spanish monarch, and did not doubt but all his caciques would follow his example.

Motezuma, agreeably to his promise, dispatched courtiers to convene all the caciques of his empire, according to a custom practised on important occasions. They came with equal splendor and expedition, and the council was assembled in the king's apartment, in the presence of Cortes and his captains. The emperor began with a studied speech, in which he reminded them of the obligations they were under to him as their sovereign and benefactor; and having assured them, that he had both consulted and obtained the approbation of the gods, with respect to the cause of their meeting, repeated the story and prophecy of Quezalcoal, declared that the king of Spain was the descendant of that mighty prince, and consequently the lawful sovereign of the Mexican Empire, to whom both he and they were bound to pay obedience, as a mark of which he had selected for an offering to the king of Spain the most precious jewels of his treasury, and he did not doubt but they would follow his example.

Motezuma was unable to pronounce this speech without interruption, he sighed from time to time, and on his owning himself the vassal of another prince, the tears trickled down his cheeks, and he was unable to proceed. Cortes then arising, declared that it was not his sovereign's intention to dispossess Motezuma, or to occasion the least innovation in his government, and that he only required them to settle his rights to the succession in favour of his descendants; at which Motezuma resuming fresh courage, finished his speech. The whole assembly were amazed, and struck dumb at a proposal that appeared so inconsistent with the dignity and known character of the emperor; and considering it as extorted by compulsion, they groaned

ed bitterly; and with an emphatic silence looked at each other. It is probable that Motezuma's sole intention in this transaction, was to forward the departure of his guests, without the least design of fulfilling the terms of this submission for the future. However, from that day, Charles V. was acknowledged, and believed by the people to be the lawful sovereign of the Mexican empire, and their homage, according to the custom of the country, was authenticated by a public instrument.

The emperor, having concluded this affair to his own satisfaction, resolved immediately to recover that liberty and independence for which he had so long sighed in secret, and speedily delivered to Cortes the present he had provided, consisting of curiosities in gold, in the shape of birds, fishes, and four-footed beasts, and many precious stones, particularly a number of a sort esteemed by the Mexicans above all others, which in colour resembled emeralds, and many beautiful pictures, formed of variegated feathers. In short the whole seemed the ransom of a great prince, who thought he could not purchase his liberty at too high a price; and the liberality of the nobles was such as might be expected from wealthy chiefs, who vied with each other in loyalty and ostentation.

Motezuma having thus accomplished his subjection to Spain, sent for Cortes, and with an air of greater dignity than usual, told him, that as his business was now dispatched, he ought to think of departing, since his staying any longer would be attributed to sinister motives; nor could he longer afford him support when he had not reason on his side. This intimation, and the manner in which it was delivered, were so unexpected, that Cortes was some time before he could recollect himself, so as to make a proper reply. He now perceived the design of convoking the assembly, and suspected that Motezuma had privately assembled some forces in order to back this proposal, and therefore

fore sent one of the Spaniards who was with him to order his soldiers to take to their arms; and in the mean while excused his embarrassment at seeing his majesty more moved than usual, assuring him that he was so far from designing to delay his departure, that he came on purpose to desire his permission to build some vessels to carry the Spaniards to their own country, as his majesty well knew they had lost their ships, in which they had sailed to that coast.

It is said that the emperor had provided 50,000 men to support his determination; but it is certain that he was very desirous of avoiding a rupture with Cortes, and was even under some apprehensions with respect to the answer he might receive; but he no sooner heard this artful reply, than he embraced him with singular marks of affection, and having now lost his fears, told him with great complacency, that he did not intend to hasten his departure before he was provided for the voyage, and that he should be speedily furnished with every thing he wanted. Cortes seemed in equal haste to be gone, and dispatched his builders to Vera Cruz, in order to collect the remainder of the iron-work, rigging, and sails of the vessels which had been sunk; but at the same time sent private directions to Martin Lopez his master-builder, to proceed slowly, and prolong the work as much as possible: his real design being to preserve his footing at Mexico till the return of his commissaries from Spain.

He thus for the present quieted the minds of Motezuma and his subjects; but a very few days produced an extraordinary alteration in his affairs. The emperor received intelligence that eighteen ships had appeared upon the coast of Pilleca, and by the paintings made for his majesty's information, these ships seemed to be manned with Spaniards. This circumstance naturally alarmed the whole empire, and revived the suspicions that had been entertained of Cortes, to whom Motezuma immediately communicated this intelligence; letting him know at the same time,

time, that it must now be unnecessary for him to proceed in building ships, since he might embark in those sent from his own country. Cortes examined the paintings, and was convinced of their being Spanish vessels; but supposing that they were sent to him from Spain, with a supply of troops and ammunition, answered with great composure, that he would immediately embark, if they were going to return to any of the King of Spain's dominions; but that it would be imprudent to desist from building, till he should be informed of particulars. But a few days after this conversation, Cortes received a letter from Gonzalo de Sandoval, by which he was informed that this fleet contained 800 men, and was sent by Diego Velasquez to oppose him and his designs in Mexico. He received this mortifying account while he was in conversation with Motezuma, and was obliged to make use of all his prudence and resolution to conceal the emotions he felt upon this occasion, from the observation of that prince. He however succeeded in his endeavours, and retired in order to deliberate upon this unexpected event. But it is here necessary to mention the reception Cortes's commissaries found at the court of Spain, and the causes that prompted Velasquez to fit out such a fleet against him.

It has been already observed that Cortes and the council of Vera Cruz, sent Alonzo Hernandez Portocarrero and Francisco de Montejo, with letters for the king of Spain, together with the first tribute sent from New Spain. These gentlemen, contrary to the orders they had received, touched at the island of Cuba, in order that Francisco de Montejo might have the pleasure of visiting his family and relations who resided near the Havannah, and at so great a distance from Velasquez, that they flattered themselves they ran no risk, either from his vigilance or resentment. This step however brought them into great danger, for Diego de Velasquez supposing that Cortes would send some of his ships to St. Domingo, to solicit succours of

of the religious governors, had placed spies along the coast, who informing him of what had happened at Montejo's house, he immediately dispatched two light vessels well manned, with orders to take the ship, and every person on board. Montejo, in consequence of the first notice he had received of this measure, had no sooner embarked, than he was obliged to sail through the gulph of Florida, which was hitherto unattempted, as the only means of escape.

This ship, however, had a very prosperous voyage; but arrived at Seville at a very unfortunate conjuncture; for the chaplain Benito Martin, who had been sent by Velasquez to solicit the commission of King's Lieutenant, had obtained his suit; sent the commission to Cuba, and was then waiting at Seville for a ship, in order to return thither himself. This man represented Cortes as a pirate, who had clandestinely sailed with several vessels which belonged to Velasquez; and in consequence of his complaint, the directors of trade ordered the ship and cargo to be seized; but as a great favour permitted the two captains, with the pilot sent by Cortes, to apply to the king for redress. They accordingly set out for Barcelona, but there found that his majesty was at Corunna, where he was preparing to pass over into Flanders, in order to accept of the imperial crown. They therefore set out for that city, and in their way visited Martin Cortes, who, with equal pleasure and surprize, heard of the glory and success of his son, whose death he had long deplored, and persuaded him to accompany them to the emperor, in hopes that his character and grey hairs would give a sanction to their solicitations. They had the good fortune to overtake the Count at Tordesillas, just as Cortes's presents arrived, with the Indians of the New Conquest from Seville; for these being upon the emperor's own account, they durst not detain. His Majesty gave them a very gracious reception, and was extremely surprized at their account of this new discovered empire,

and in several conferences with them enquired minutely into every particular relating to the conquest. While the Indians, and the presents that were before him, gave, as it were, sanction to all the wonderful things they related. But as he was then on his departure to Germany, he referred Cortes's letters and solicitations to Cardinal Adrian, and the council, to which he had communicated the management of affairs during his absence, desiring that they would find out some method of doing justice to Velasquez's pretensions, and at the same time to encourage Cortes. But the president of this council being Velasquez's friend, represented Cortes as a rebel, upon whom they could have no dependence. They however did not think proper to give him an immediate cause of discontent, though they resolved not to send him any part of the supplies he had earnestly requested, and all that the deputies could obtain, was a small share of what they had brought for their own subsistence; after which they for two whole years attended the court without the least success.

In the mean time Diego Velasquez received his commission of King's Lieutenant, not only of Cuba, but of all the countries that should be discovered and conquered by his means; which, together with his being assured of the protection of the bishop of Burgos, president of the Indies, enabled him to gratify his ambition and resentment: whence he resolved to punish Cortes as a rebel and deserter, and to appropriate to himself the honour of conquering the Mexican empire. With these views he expended the greatest part of his fortune in equipping a squadron, which consisted of 800 Spanish infantry, 80 horse, 12 pieces of cannon, and a large quantity of provisions, arms, and ammunition. The command of this squadron he bestowed upon Pamphilo de Narvaez, a man of distinction and capacity; but vain, haughty, and opinionated; and to this person he gave the title of his Lieutenant, with private instructions to apprehend

hend Cortes, and send him over to Cuba in irons, together with his principal officers, in case they refused to abandon his interests.

While these preparations were making, the Monks of St. Geronimo, who presided over the royal audience at St. Domingo, and whose jurisdiction extended over the other islands, were informed of his designs; and foreseeing the ill consequences that might attend them, sent Lucas Velasquez de Ayllon to persuade Diego to desist from his enterprize, and in case his arguments failed, to command him, under great penalties, to desist from undertaking what might impede Cortes's measures.

This minister arriving in the island of Cuba when the fleet was just ready to sail, used all his elocution and influence to divert Velasquez from his purpose; but Velasquez being deaf to all his remonstrances, and elevated by the title he had acquired, to the greatest degree of pride and insolence, De Ayllon caused his orders and protest to be notified by a scrivener, and then dissembling his resentment, desired to be allowed to gratify his curiosity, by accompanying the expedition. This request was immediately granted, and De Ayllon embarked, in hopes of being able to act as mediator between Narvaez and Cortes, and thus prevent the ill consequences that might arise from Velasquez's resentment. With the same view Andres de Duero, the secretary of Velasquez, who had befriended Cortes in the beginning of his fortune, engaged in the expedition, and the squadron sailing with a favourable wind, soon came to an anchor in the port of Ulua.

Narvaez, on his arrival on the coast of Mexico, sent some soldiers on shore for intelligence, who soon returned with two or three Spaniards whom they found straggling about, and from these he received an account of every thing that had happened at Vera Cruz and Mexico. Narvaez, upon receiving this intelligence, resolved to endeavour to obtain the fortress.

of Vera Cruz by treaty, and therefore sent a clergyman, named Juan Ruis de Guevara, with three soldiers and a public notary to Gonzalo de Sandoval, in order to persuade him to give up Vera Cruz, and to join the army with his garrison.

Gonzalo being informed by his centinels of their coming, was prepared for their reception : but could scarcely restrain himself within the bounds of moderation, when Guevara delivered his message. He therefore answered with great warmth, that he could not believe that Narvaez, whom he took to be a good subject, would attempt to interrupt Cortes in a conquest that would be of such advantage to Spain ; but would rather join him with all his forces, in order to bring such a noble scheme to perfection. However if he was really resolved to offer violence to Cortes, he might be assured that the garrison of Vera Cruz would make all the opposition in their power. The priest being very passionate, was so provoked at this unexpected repulse, that he threatened Cortes and all his adherents, whom he upbraided as felons and traitors, and then ordered the notary to do his office, in publishing that all the Spaniards in Vera Cruz should obey Narvaez on pain of death.

Sandoval attempted to persuade this indiscreet ecclesiastic, that such violence was equally unjust and indecent in a person of his profession : but finding that all his arguments were vain, he at length assumed a peremptory air, and told the notary, that should he presume to publish any orders that did not come from the king, he would give directions for his being hanged immediately. He even caused the priest and his attendants to be apprehended, and sent to inform Cortes of the steps he had taken. He then summoned his Indian allies to assist him, in case he should be attacked ; and put his fortress in the best order possible.

Cortes was under the greatest anxiety on his being informed of these transactions ; and yet in the presence of

of Motezuma, he wore an air of tranquillity, telling him that those who had newly arrived, were come with a second embassy to support the propositions he had already made; but that as his majesty's generosity had left nothing either for him or them to desire, he would go back along with them.

Cortes's uneasiness was however very far from rendering him inactive; he resolved, if possible, to bring about a reconciliation with Narvaez; but lest that should not succeed, prepared with the greatest diligence for war.

While Cortes was taking these prudent steps, Pedro de Solis arrived from Vera Cruz with the prisoners sent by Gonzalo de Sandoval, who had been carried in chairs on the shoulders of the Indians. When Cortes being informed of their coming, went out to receive them with a greater number of attendants than ordinary. He instantly caused their fetters to be taken off, embraced them with great appearances of cordiality, and was particularly civil to father Guevara, telling him, that he would chastise Gonzalo de Sandoval for his shewing so little regard to his person and character. He then conducted him to his own apartment, complimented him with a place at his table, and more than once intimated that he felt the greatest satisfaction at the arrival of Narvaez, with whom he had formerly lived in the most intimate friendship. He took him to Motezuma, and made him a witness of the favours he received from that great emperor, and greatly allayed the violence of his temper, by making him a present of some valuable jewels.

Cortes dismissed them in this courteous manner, and allowed some time for his politic behaviour to produce the desired effect, and then sent friar Bartholomew de Olmedo with letters for Narvaez de Ayllon, and the secretary Andres de Duero, and at the same time furnished him with a stock of jewels, with orders to distribute them according to his own sagacity and penetration. In his letter to Narvaez, he welcomed

him to the Mexican coast; gave him an account of the conquest; expatiated on the ill consequences that would infallibly attend a misunderstanding among the Spaniards; reminded him of his duty to the king, and the friendship which had formerly subsisted between them: desired to know his orders, which, if they were from his majesty, he promised to obey: but intimated the mischief that would be produced, with respect to the king's interest, if he only intended to prosecute the unjust resentment of Velasquez, whom he had resolved to give a share in the glory and advantage of his success: and concluded with telling Narvaez, that he did not use arguments for want of strength, and that he knew how to maintain his own rights.

Narvaez had fixed his quarters at Zempoalla, where he was received with great hospitality by the fat cacique, who at first imagined, that he was come in order to assist his friend Cortes; but he was soon undeceived; for though Narvaez had no interpreters, his actions spoke but too plainly. He treated the Zempoallans in the most oppressive and imperious manner, seized the furniture and jewels which Cortes had left in his own house, and his soldiers were suffered to commit every act of rapine and violence.

Guevara, on his return from Mexico, waited upon him, and expatiated on the magnificence of that city, the kind reception he had met with from Cortes, the astonishing degree of favour he was in with Moteczuma, and his great desire to live in friendship with Narvaez; when that imperious officer interrupting him, bid him return to Cortes, by whose artifices he had been cajoled; and then, with the most shocking marks of rudeness and disrespect, thrust him from his presence. But though the priest was repulsed by Narvaez, he and his companions made a great impression on the minds of the soldiers, to whom they extolled Cortes in such a manner, as not only made them desire an accommodation with that general; but

but inspired them with a dislike to their own commander.

Olmeda soon followed Guevara, and delivered Cortes's letter to Narvaez; but could scarce prevail upon him to peruse the contents, which he however superficially skimmed over, out of compliment to the function of the bearer: but fearing the influence of his persuasions among the soldiers, he ordered him to depart from Zempoalla immediately. De Ayllon had no better success: and, in order to prevent any farther negociation, Narvaez ordered war to be declared against Cortes, as a rebel and traitor; assigning a considerable reward to any who should take him dead or alive, and commanding the army to prepare for a march. De Ayllon, exasperated at this instance of violence and irregularity, ordered the crier to desist, and commanded Narvaez not to stir a foot from Zempoalla on pain of death, or to employ the forces without the unanimous consent of the whole army. Upon which Narvaez ordered him to be apprehended, sent on board a vessel, and instantly transported to Cuba. At the same time de Olmedo set out on his return to Mexico, while the principal officers in Narvaez's army were shocked at his insolence, and the inferior soldiers loudly murmured at his conduct.

De Olmedo, on his arrival at Mexico, informed Cortes of the implacability and intemperate behaviour of Narvaez; but encouraged him by mentioning the disposition of the soldiers; upon which he immediately resolved to take advantage of this favourable circumstance: and the Spaniards at Mexico were no sooner informed of his having taken this resolution, than they expressed the utmost zeal and impatience to be in action; for notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, they had such confidence in the valour, ability, and discretion of their general, that they thought it almost impossible for them not to conquer, when under his command.

Cortes was unwilling to damp their alacrity by any unnecessary delay, and therefore repaired to Motezuma's apartment, in order to acquaint him with his intended march; but was not a little surprised, at hearing that prince begin the discourse, and at his saying, that he had from different parts received information that the Spanish general at Zempoalla was come with very ill designs against him and his followers: and though he did not wonder that the two chiefs should be at enmity from some private animosity, he could not help thinking, that as they were the vassals of one prince, and headed armies of contrary factions, one of them must necessarily be a rebel to his sovereign. Cortes was somewhat startled at this declaration; but immediately availed himself of that presence of mind, which never forsook him in his greatest emergencies, and replied without hesitation, that the accounts received by his majesty were undoubtedly true, and he was come to lay the same intelligence before him; but that Narvaez was not to be considered as a rebel, but rather as a person who proceeded upon wrong principles through mistake: for he was come as lieutenant or substitute from a misinformed governor, who resided in a remote province, and was therefore unacquainted with the last resolutions of the court of Spain: but that all this misunderstanding would vanish as soon as he should lay his dispatches before that lieutenant. He had therefore resolved immediately to march with part of his forces to Zempoalla, in order to dispose them to respect the subjects of the Mexican empire as a people under the king of Spain's protection.

Motezuma was much pleased with the prospect of getting rid of such disagreeable visitors, of whose exactions and acts of oppression he was particularly informed: but imagining that Cortes might be exposed to some danger, he offered to furnish him with an army that should be entirely under his command, and

repeated this offer with such earnestness, that Cortes was fully convinced of his sincerity, though he declined accepting it, from his having but little confidence in the attachment of the Mexican soldiers to his interest.

Cortes resolved upon leaving fourscore Spaniards in Mexico, under the command of Pedro de Alverado, an excellent officer, who by his engaging behaviour had already required great share of Motezuma's friendship. He gave him directions relating to his conduct, with respect to the emperor, and the soldiers were ordered to obey their captain, and serve Motezuma with the greatest respect. These precautions being taken, Cortes dispatched a messenger to Gonzalo de Sandoval, with orders to intrust the confederate Indians with the fortress of Vera Cruz, and to march out with the Spaniards to meet him at a certain place of rendezvous. He then having taken care to obtain the necessary supplies on the road, set out on his march.

At Matalequita, a town of Indian friends, Cortes was joined by Gonzalo de Sandoval and his troops, with seven soldiers from Narvaez's army, by whom he was informed of every thing that had passed in the enemy's quarters before they deserted. He had also intelligence of a fresher date from two soldiers who had gone from Vera Cruz to Zempoalla in the disguise of Indians, carrying baskets of fruit, which they exchanged with the Spaniards for glass-beads, and other toys, and so dexterously assumed the simplicity of the natives, that they were permitted to range without the least suspicion, through every part of the quarters: they even ventured to repeat this visit, and as a proof of the carelessness with which Narvaez caused the watch to be kept, took from the very parade a horse belonging to a captain who was one of Cortes's most bitter enemies.

Juan Velasquez de Leon was sent to use his influence with Narvaez, from the hopes that his being

related to Diego de Velasquez would render his mediation the more acceptable; and on his approaching Zempoalla, Narvaez came with a grand retinue to meet him, supposing that he was come to join him; but had soon the mortification to find himself mistaken. He however used many arguments to detach him from Cortes; and to render him an eye-witness of his superior strength, commanded the whole army to be reviewed before him. The next day he invited him to dinner; but in the midst of their festivity some sarcastic reflections were thrown out against Cortes, and though Juan de Velasquez, to avoid prejudicing the business in which he was employed, dissembled his resentment; yet the abuse thrown upon Cortes became so gross and indecent, that Velasquez being unable to restrain his indignation, cried with some warmth, that if any man in that company, who did not esteem Hernando Cortes, and all his followers, as loyal subjects to the king of Spain, would let him know his sentiments before fewer witnesses, he would undeceive him in what manner soever he pleased. Narvaez was disconcerted with this declaration; but a young officer of the name and family of Velasquez, replied, that no man was worthy of bearing that name, who attempted to vindicate a traitor. At this reproach, Juan gave him the lie, and drew his sword, in order to punish him for his insolence, when the company interposed, but found it very difficult to prevent mischief. However, Velasquez was at length prevailed upon to sheath his sword, when abruptly leaving the company, he immediately returned to Cortes, breathing defiance and revenge.

This incident occasioned such murmurs among the officers and soldiers, that Narvaez, in order to put a stop to their clamours, was obliged to send a person to Cortes, to apologize for what had happened to Juan de Velasquez, and to learn the substance of his commission, which he had not fully explained. For this purpose he sent the secretary Andres de Duero, who

who met Cortes on his march to an advantageous post, which he intended to occupy till the arrival of the Chinantlans. Duero and Cortes embraced each other like two intimate friends who had met after a long separation; and an interview with Narvaez was proposed, to which Cortes immediately agreeing, the secretary returned to Zempoalla, where he also obtained the consent of Narvaez. But after the time and place were appointed where they were to meet with only ten friends on each side, Cortes received private advice from Duero, that Narvaez had resolved to lay an ambuscade for his life, which being confirmed by others, he wrote to his treacherous enemy to let him know, that he was acquainted with his designs, and to reproach him with his baseness. Having thus given vent to his indignation, he continued his march, and took his station within a league of Zempoalla, where his front was defended by a river, and his rear by the neighbourhood of Vera Cruz.

Narvaez being informed of this disposition, drew up his army, caused war to be declared at the head of his troops, with the offer of a reward of 2000 pieces of eight to any person who should bring him Cortes's head; and also set a price upon the lives of Gonzalo de Sandoval and Juan Velasquez de Leon. He then marched to an open field at about a quarter of a league's distance, vainly hoping that Cortes would leave his advantageous situation, to engage an enemy who had three times as many men as himself. But Cortes taking advantage of the discontent of his antagonist's soldiers, fatigued by a sudden storm which drove them back to Zempoalla; attacked and defeated them with his veterans; received the vanquished into his service, and by his admirable conduct found himself in a few hours at the head of above 1000 Spaniards. He had a fleet of eleven ships and seven brigantines at his disposal; and he had the pleasure of seeing the last effort of Diego de Velasquez entirely frustrated.

But notwithstanding his good fortune he could not be easy, when he reflected upon Alverado's situation, since he knew him to be encompassed with enemies, and at the mercy of a prince who might be persuaded to sacrifice him and his few troops for the advantage of the empire. He therefore resolved to return to Mexico, and that neither Motezuma nor his people might be offended at his returning with such a numerous body, he proposed to divide his army, and employ the greatest part of it in other conquests.

While Cortes was taking these measures, a letter from Alverado occasioned an alteration in his scheme. By this letter he was informed, that though Motezuma had never once attempted to leave the quarters, the Mexicans had taken up arms, and unless he and his men were immediately succoured, they must all inevitably perish. And what was still more extraordinary, the soldier who brought this letter, was accompanied by an ambassador from Motezuma, who pressed Cortes to return as soon as possible, and assured him, that though his own life should be at stake, he would never abandon Alverado.

Upon receiving this intelligence, Cortes began his march with 1000 foot and 100 horse; the army taking different routs, in order to be the more easily supplied with provisions. They rendezvoused near Tlascala, at which city they were received with great joy and affection. That republic stimulated him against the Mexicans, and offered to assemble all their troops for his service. He, however, declined the offer, and contented himself with taking a body of 2000 men.

Cortes passed the causeway without the least opposition, notwithstanding his perceiving many marks of the fury of the Mexicans. For his two brigantines were staved to pieces, and half burnt. On his entering Mexico, the suburbs were abandoned; the bridges, by which the streets had a communication with each other, were broken down, and a profound silence

silence reigned over the city. These suspicious symptoms made Cortes order the infantry to slacken their pace, while the cavalry marched before to reconnoitre: but the Spaniards who had been left in the city, soon discovering the army, raised a great shout, and removed his apprehensions. Pedro de Alverado with his people received them at the gate of his quarters, in a transport of joy, and Motezuma himself went to the outward court to meet Cortes, whom he embraced with all the marks of a sincere affection.

Cortes having taken proper measures for the security of the troops, retired with Alverado, to inquire into the cause of that sedition among the Mexicans; when that officer informed him, that soon after his departure a conspiracy was concerted against the Spaniards, in which it was agreed to assemble the inhabitants under the pretence of celebrating annual dances called Mitates, when the nobles were to harangue the populace, and immediately proceed to the Spanish quarters, in order to extirpate the insolent strangers, who kept their emperor prisoner, and treated even their gods with contempt.

On the morning preceding the day appointed, some of the chief persons in this sedition, came to desire Alverado's permission to celebrate their festival. However he was that very night informed that they were very busy in concealing considerable quantities of arms in houses near the temple; upon which he resolved to anticipate the execution of their scheme, by attacking them before they should have time either to take arms, or to raise the populace. This ill-judged scheme he put in execution. He left the fort with his 50 under the pretence of seeing the diversion; and perceiving the Mexicans intoxicated with liquor, attacked and dispersed them without opposition; many of them being killed and wounded in their flight. The Spaniards stripped them of their jewels and other ornaments; after which Alverado retired,

retired, without taking the necessary step of acquainting the people, with his motives for committing an action, which was naturally imputed to avarice. The people incensed at seeing the nobility slaughtered and pillaged before their eyes, now ran to arms, and raised a formidable insurrection. They had several times attacked the Spanish quarters, and being so successful as to kill three or four Spaniards, their courage was raised to such an height, that instead of dreading the resentment of Cortes, and his troops, which were so greatly increased; they retired to another part of the town, leaving the entrance open, that by giving the Spaniards an opportunity of being united, they might surround and destroy them at once.

Cortes censured Alverado very severely for his rashness, and made him so sensible of his indiscretion, that he desired to be imprisoned. in order to facilitate the reduction of the enraged multitude,

The Mexicans made no attempt that night; but the same mysterious silence prevailing the next morning, Cortes ordered Diego de Ordas to march through the principal streets, at the head of 400 Spanish and Tlascalan soldiers, and if possible to penetrate into their designs. But Diego had not proceeded far, when he was all at once opposed by an innumerable multitude, who ran boldly up to his front, while another army, which had been concealed in the streets, attacked him in the rear: at the same time all the terraces and windows on each side were crowded with armed men, who showered upon them an infinite number of arrows, darts and stones. Diego endeavoured to make his retreat, though he was obliged to cut his way sword in hand. In this engagement he left seven soldiers dead upon the spot, and both himself and the greatest part of his men wounded. The Mexicans followed him with inconceivable fury, till they were terrified and driven back by the artillery from the Spanish quarters, which made a dreadful

dreadful slaughter. They however halted within sight, and the streets were soon filled again with armed men, whose drums and shells sounding the signal for an assault, they advanced with prodigious impetuosity. They advanced to the very gates, which they endeavoured to cut in pieces, with instruments edged with flint; and others made ladders of their pikes and lances, in order to scale the walls. They were however at last repulsed, when they retired for cover to the cross-streets, where they staid till the approach of night, and then raised another terrible alarm, by beginning a very different kind of fight; for by shooting fire-arrows into the quarters, they produced a dreadful conflagration in several parts of the building, which forced the Spaniards to break down walls, to prevent the communication of the flames, and then to labour the greatest part of the night in repairing the breaches they had made, in order to put themselves again in a posture of defence.

The next morning the enemy appeared at a distance; and though afraid of advancing within cannon shot, challenged the Spaniards to come to battle with many injurious reproaches. Cortes, who had resolved to make a sally, took this opportunity to inflame the minds of his soldiers with a short speech; and finding them impatient of delay, divided his whole force into three battalions; two of which were directed to clear the cross streets, while he himself took the large street, where the greatest body of the enemy was posted. The Mexicans stood the first charge without giving ground, and even fought hand to hand with their clubs and two-handed swords, which they wielded with incredible fury; nor could the fire-arms put a stop to the showers of stones and javelins that were thrown from the windows and balconies, till fire was set to some of the houses. The Mexicans however at last gave way; but as they retreated, broke down the bridges of the streets, which

which obliged the Spaniards to fill up the canals, before they could prosecute the victory. The loss of the enemy was so great, that the dead bodies lay in heaps, and the canals of the city was tinged with blood. Cortes, who had lost ten or twelve men in this action, did not chuse to continue a pursuit, but allotted three days for the refreshment of his troops; during which he renewed his overtures of peace, by means of some Mexicans, who were in Motezuma's service: but at the same time continued to observe the strictest vigilance and precaution; and, among other stratagems, contrived four wooden towers to run upon wheels, each of which was capable of containing twenty or thirty men, who might set houses on fire, and destroy the barricados raised in the principal streets. Having finished these machines, he made a second sally with the principal part of the Spaniards, together with the whole body of Tlascalans, who had fought with great bravery in the last engagement. He also took some pieces of artillery, the wooden towers, and a few led horses, that were to be used occasionally.

The Mexicans were now commanded by the principal nobles, who had greatly augmented the army, and waited for the Spaniards in profound silence; but the latter had no sooner begun their march, than they were suddenly surpris'd with the hoarse and disagreeable sound of their sea-shells and drums, added to the shouts of an innumerable multitude, which advanced with unusual regularity, and amazing resolution, giving and receiving the first charges without being disordered. When they were forced to give way, they retired leisurely, without turning their backs, and renewed the fight at every canal or barricado, with such obstinacy, that they were not to be dislodged without the artillery. From the windows, balconies, and terraces, large stones and fragments of rocks, provided for that purpose, were hurled, by which the moving towers were soon
shattered

shattered to pieces: and, in short, the battle was fought with such method and alacrity, as plainly proved that it was conducted by a general in chief.

The engagement continued the greatest part of the day; and night drawing on before Cortes had made much progress, he retired to his quarters, with the loss of 40 men, who were chiefly Tlascalans; and with 50 Spaniards much wounded, he himself receiving a shot with an arrow in his left hand. He now began seriously to reflect, that notwithstanding all the advantages he had obtained over the Mexicans, his numbers, in a series of such victories, would be greatly diminished; and that in case of a general revolt against Motezuma, they might easily starve him in his quarters: nor was the emperor himself under less uneasiness. From the highest turret of the palace he had observed the battle, and could easily distinguish the cacique of Iztapalapa, and other nobles, who might aspire to the empire. He dreaded the loss of his crown; and being sensible that he could never restore his subjects to obedience, while the Spaniards remained at Mexico, he sent for Cortes the next morning, told him his sentiments, and intreated him to leave the city, that he might return to his own palace, resume the reins of government, and quell the seditions of his people.

Cortes readily consented to this proposal, and resolved to retire for the present; that he might have leisure to concert a new plan, and be enabled to execute it with a better prospect of success: but his conference with the emperor was interrupted, by his being told that the enemy was advancing with great fury, to make a general attack upon the quarters. They rushed on with prodigious impetuosity, and in spite of the havock made among them by the artillery and small arms, behaved with such bravery, that some of them got over the walls; which obliged Cortes to form a body of reserve in the principal court, whence he occasionally sent detachments to support

support such as were hard pressed or fatigued with action.

While the assault was thus carrying on with amazing vigour, Motezuma proposed to show himself to the people from the wall, in order to command the populace to retire; and order the nobles to come unarmed into his presence, that he might take proper measures to redress their grievances. This motion being approved by Cortes, the emperor immediately adorned himself with the ensigns of royalty, and then mounted the terrace, with the principal Mexicans who continued in his service; one of whom, advancing to the rails, called with a loud voice, that the great Motezuma had condescended to come forth and redress their grievances. His name was no sooner mentioned, than the out-cries of the people ceased, and they stood silent and motionless, as if awed by something supernatural; and when he appeared, the whole multitude humbled themselves to the earth. He looked around him with a majestic air, and distinguishing the nobles in the crowd, desired them severally by name to approach; thanked them for the zeal and affection they had shewed in his service, and represented to the people that they were actuated by a principle of mistaken loyalty; that his residing among the Spaniards was not the effect of compulsion; that he was resolved to dismiss them from his court, and therefore desired his subjects to lay down their arms.

This condescension made such an impression upon the hearers, who had been used to obey him with fear and trembling, that many wept to see the emperor so humbled; and the rest hung down their heads, and stood in silence and suspense. But these favourable dispositions were soon changed. Some of the emissaries belonging to a cacique, who hoped to succeed Motezuma, upbraiding the prince with being a coward, a prisoner, and a slave, raised a clamour among the people; and instantly turned their
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compassion into such a rage, that they cursed him, and uttered the most opprobrious invectives. The motions he made with his hand and head were now disregarded; and his efforts to speak rendered ineffectual, by their repeated shouts, till at length they let fly a shower of arrows against him. The soldiers being near him, endeavoured to cover him with their bucklers; but in spite of all their care, he was wounded in several places, and received a terrible blow upon one of his temples, which brought him to the ground. Cortes having caused him to be carried to his apartment, resolved to be revenged on the authors of this misfortune. But he then could find no enemy on whom he could wreak his revenge; for the emperor no sooner fell, than the Mexicans, struck with horror and consternation, instantly fled.

Motezuma had scarcely recovered his senses, when he became frantic with rage; imprecated the most dreadful curses upon his rebellious subjects; and refused to listen to the remonstrances and consolations of Cortes, who in vain endeavoured to comfort him. He tore the bandages and plaisters from his wounds, and even attempted to put an end to his life; which made it necessary to restrain him by force; and then he absolutely refused to take any manner of sustenance. The wound in his head was very dangerous; and the agitation of his mind soon rendered it mortal. Cortes joined with father Bartholomew de Olmedo in persuading him to renounce his idolatry; but all their arguments were to no purpose: and he expired, after having conjured the general to revenge his death.

Motezuma's unhappy fate filled Cortes with great concern. He was now obliged to form a new plan, and to quit all the advantages he enjoyed by his influence at the court of Mexico. The first step he took, was appointing six of Motezuma's principal attendants, some of whom were priests, to carry

out his body to the rebels; with orders to tell the princes who headed them, that he had sent them the corpse of their late sovereign, whom they themselves had murdered; and who, before his death, had earnestly conjured him to revenge his wrongs, and chastise them for their abominable rebellion. But as he imagined the insurrection was not approved by the nobles, he once more proposed peace, and was ready to agree to any reasonable conditions: but should they neglect his proposal, as his respect for Motezuma could no longer moderate his resentment, he would lay waste their city with fire and sword.

The bearers of the corpse were met at a small distance from the quarters by a body of the inhabitants, who threw down their arms, and followed their deceased sovereign with the most profound reverence and respect. The city was instantly filled with lamentations; and though another emperor was already elected, they testified their repentance by the strongest expressions of sorrow, running about the streets in clamorous tumults till the next morning, when they conveyed the body to the mountain of Chapultepeque, where it was interred with great solemnity.

Thus fell the great Motezuma, the most powerful emperor that had ever filled the Mexican throne. He had reigned seventeen years; was the eleventh in the number of emperors, and the second of that name. He left four sons, and three daughters; two of the former, who lived with their father in his confinement, were afterwards killed by the Mexicans in Cortes's retreat. The daughters afterwards embraced the christian religion, and were married to Spaniards: But the most distinguished of his descendants was one of Motezuma's sons, who at his baptism took the name of Don Pedro de Motezuma, and received many favours from his Catholic majesty, who gave him considerable possessions in New Spain,
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with the title of count of Motezuma, which his posterity still enjoy.

No attempt was made upon the Spanish quarters while the emperor remained ill of his wounds, which Cortes attributed to their being filled with horror at the thoughts of the crime they had committed; but it was all owing to the nobility being wholly employed in the inauguration of Quilavaca, cacique of Iztapalapa, whom they raised to the throne.

The Mexicans, instead of listening to the proposal made by Motezuma's servants, renewed the war with greater vigour than ever; and on the morning that succeeded the late emperor's funeral, all the streets were, by break of day, filled with armed men. They had also put a strong garrison in the towers of the temple which commanded part of the Spanish quarters. This important post, which was defended by 500 chosen men of the nobility, Cortes resolved at all events to carry. He therefore drew the greatest part of his strength out of the quarters, and having formed several battalions, sufficient to cut off all communication between the towers and the Indians in the streets, he ordered captain Escobar, with a considerable detachment, to attack the temple, which was of difficult access. That officer marched to the lower porch without opposition; but suddenly the defendants from the upper porch discharged such a shower of lances, arrows, large stones, and half-burnt beams of timber, provided for that purpose, that the assailants were thrown into disorder, and obliged to retreat in confusion, after their having returned three times to the attack.

Mean while Cortes was at the head of a troop of horse, busily employed in supporting those who most needed his assistance; but seeing Escobar defeated, he instantly quitted his horse, caused a shield to be fastened to his arm, on account of the wound in his hand; then flying to his assistance, advanced to the stairs with such intrepidity, as inspired his followers

with the ambition to imitate his example. In an instant the action was renewed with surprizing obstinacy; and two Mexicans who had devoted their lives to the service of their country, seeing Cortes upon a tower, threw down their arms, ran up to him, and stooping down like supplicants, seized him, and endeavoured to throw him over the rails: but after struggling with them for some time, he had the good fortune to disengage himself; upon which, they threw themselves headlong from the tower, and their brains were dashed out against the pavement. The Mexicans were at last obliged to retire from the continued fire of the Spaniards; and the general returned with his troops into the quarters, after they had made a dreadful havoc among the enemy, and burnt a considerable part of the city.

The next day the enemy desired a parley; which being granted by Cortes, several of the nobles approached the walls, and in the name of the new emperor, proposed that the Spaniards should instantly march down to the sea-side, and leave the country, upon which condition they promised to put an end to all hostilities: but observed, that should he reject this proposal, they must all inevitably perish; for as they were now convinced by experience, that the Spaniards were mortal, they were resolved to continue their attacks; and though the death of every Christian should cost them 20,000 lives, they would have a number left sufficient to rejoice at their success.

To this Cortes replied, that the Spaniards did not pretend to be immortal, though they were so superior to the Mexicans, that with his handful of men he could destroy the whole empire: but being moved by the calamities, they, through their obstinacy, had suffered, he was resolved to depart; and that he only waited till the necessary preparations were made for his march, and other articles agreed upon for the reciprocal advantage of both parties. The nobles

bles seemed pleased with this answer, though the overtures they had made were intended to answer a very different purpose. It had been agreed by the new emperor and his council, that instead of exposing themselves to such terrible slaughter, as the people had always suffered from the artillery and fire-arms, they should distress the Spaniards by famine; and amuse them with negotiations, till being weakened and dispirited by hunger, they might fall upon them to greater advantage. They recollected that Moctezuma's three sons and other persons of distinction were prisoners in the Spanish quarters; but willingly devoted them as sacrifices to the good of their country, except their chief priest, whom they resolved, if possible, to deliver.

The deputies therefore returned the same evening with a proposal, that some of the Mexican prisoners should be sent with instructions to the emperor; artfully hinting, that the most proper person would be a certain ancient priest, who being an intelligent man, would be able to remove whatever difficulties might be started. Cortes readily assented to the proposal, and made the priest acquainted with his demands, in relation to the necessaries he should want in his march; resolving, if he should return, to explain himself with respect to their laying down their arms and delivering hostages. But they had not the least intention to send him back, or to come to an amicable agreement; which was very evident from their making trenches to defend the passage of the canals, breaking down the bridges of the principal causeway, and cutting off all communication with the road leading to Tlascala. Cortes was greatly alarmed at this intelligence, and immediately ordered a portable bridge to be made, strong enough to bear the weight of the artillery, and so light as to be carried by 40 soldiers.

Men were immediately employed in making this bridge; and at the same time Cortes assembled his

captains, in order to consult whether they should retreat by day or by night: for he was resolved to retire to Tlascala, and there to take measures for laying siege to the city of Mexico. The majority of the officers proposed a retreat by night, on account of the superstition of the Mexicans, which made it unusual for them to engage an enemy after sun-set; and from the difficulty of attacking them in the canoes in the dark. This was however warmly opposed by Cortes, and several others; but the question being put to the vote, the majority declared for the first proposal, to which Cortes assented; and it was resolved, to give the enemy as little time as possible to form obstructions, by beginning their march that very night. The carpenters had no sooner finished the bridge, which was to be moved from one opening in the causeway to another, than Cortes sent another Mexican in order to amuse the enemy with farther proposals of peace, while he made the proper dispositions for his retreat. The order of march being fixed, he caused the treasure to be brought into his apartment, and taking one fifth for the king, in what was portable, he delivered it to the commissary with some wounded horses for the carriage; but the remainder, which amounted to upwards of 700,000 pieces of eight, he proposed to leave, as a dangerous incumbrance: but finding the soldiers unwilling to lose their share, he gave them leave to take what they could conveniently carry; in consequence of which, some of the most avaritious, who were among those who came with Narvaez, loaded themselves so heavily, that they staggered under their burdens.

Cortes having taken these previous steps, encouraged the soldiers by a short speech; and about midnight they began their march with great silence and circumspection, being favoured by the wetness of the weather, and the darkness of the night. The bridge, which was carried in the front, was laid
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over the first canal before they met with the least opposition; but the weight of the artillery and horse jammed it so fast, that they found it impracticable to remove it; and indeed they had no time to use much pains about it; for before the army had passed the first breach of the causeway, they were suddenly attacked on all sides: for the enemy having observed their motions, had assembled their troops and canoes with such expedition and silence, that the lake was covered on each side of the causeway. The attack began with great regularity; and had the Mexicans continued to preserve the same good order during the engagement, Cortes and his whole army must have perished. But they soon returned to their usual way of charging in confusion, by which means many of the canoes were dashed to pieces against each other, and the Spaniards made a dreadful slaughter. They were attacked in front by a vast number, who being impatient till they came to action, had thrown themselves into the lake, and clambered up the causeway in order to dispute the passage; but they were so crowded, that they had scarcely room to make use of their weapons: and the slaughter was, according to some authors, so great, as to supply a sufficient number of bodies, to form a passage for the Spaniards in the lake. But other authors alledge, that the enemy left the beam of the second bridge, on which the soldiers passed over in files, leading their horses through the water by the bridles.

Cortes, on his reaching the shore, ordered the men to be formed as fast as they arrived; and then returned to the causeway, entered into the engagement, and animated the men by his presence and example. He caused each side of the causeway to be lined with soldiers, who were to repel the enemy, while the rest marched between them in the centre; and to facilitate the march, he ordered the artillery to be thrown into the water: but notwithstanding all his vigilance,

lance, part of the rear-guard was cut in pieces, the bridge being destroyed by the Mexicans in the canoes before these unhappy men could pass it, and these chiefly consisted of those who had so overloaded themselves with treasure, that they were incapable of exerting themselves in their own defence.

The army having passed over the lake by break of day, halted near Tobuca, to give time to those who had escaped from the battle to join their friends; a precaution which saved the lives of several Spaniards and Tlascalans, who had swam ashore, and concealed themselves in some fields of maize till the morning. These brought intelligence that the last division of the rear guard was entirely cut off; and the troops being reviewed, their loss was found to amount to about 200 Spaniards, above 1000 Tlascalans, and 46 horses, with all the Mexican prisoners; who, in the darkness and confusion of the night, were treated as enemies by their own countrymen. The Spaniards were much dejected at finding how greatly their number was diminished; at the loss of their artillery, and at the apprehension of being every moment again assaulted, while they were oppressed with fatigue. Their affliction was increased by the loss of some excellent officers, among whom was Juan Velasquez de Leon, who brought up the rear.

Had the Spaniards been now attacked, before they had time to refresh themselves, and recover their spirits after the fatigue of the battle, they would in all probability have been easily destroyed: but an event which they considered as extremely unfortunate, prolonged their lives, by giving them time to repose. It has already been observed that all the Mexican prisoners were killed in the engagement; and in the morning when the enemy went to strip the dead, they found three of Motezuma's sons, whom they had killed with their arrows. At this spectacle they were amazed and stupified; the troops were seized with consternation, and the news of this event

event soon reached the new emperor : he ordered the bodies of these unhappy princes to be conveyed to the burying-place of their ancestors, and all the inhabitants attending their funeral, afforded the Spaniards this seasonable respite.

Mean while Cortes marched with great caution towards Tlascala, suspecting that the enemy's delay proceeded from some design, which had been formed against him ; and indeed the Spaniards had not proceeded far, before they observed several companies of armed men following the army at a distance. These were some of the inhabitants of several cities whom the Mexicans had ordered to observe the motions of the Spaniards, and retard their march, till they themselves had discharged their last duty to the sons of Motezuma. At length the whole body of the Mexicans appeared, and joining the others, attacked the army with great impetuosity. Cortes placed his fire-arms and cross-bows in the front, and then ordered the horse to advance and charge the Indians, which they did with great success ; but their enemies continually increasing, the Spaniards were fatigued with killing them, and began to despair of their ever being able to rout such a prodigious multitude : when Cortes perceiving an edifice with turrets on the top of an eminence near the field of battle, resolved to gain that post, which he effected. As this building was a temple, that had a spacious court, encompassed by a wall and several towers, it was easily defended. The Spaniards here found shelter from the danger to which they had been exposed ; and on account of this signal relief, afterwards erected an hermitage on the spot, which is still known by the name of *Nuestra Señora de Los Remedios*, or Our Lady of Relief.

The Mexicans approached near the walls ; but having discharged a great number of arrows, retired toward Mexico : however the Spaniards perceived from the tops of the towers that they halted in
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the plain, where they divided into several bodies. The men were refreshed with some provisions they found in the temple, and with what the Indians had saved with their baggage, and had their wounds dressed, the linen horse-cloths serving for lint and bandages. These necessary tasks being performed, Cortes called a council of his officers, and proposed, as this post could not be maintained for want of provisions, and as they could not hope to make their retreat while surrounded by such a multitude of the enemy, they should seize this opportunity of continuing their march during the night, in order that they might be two or three leagues from the Mexicans the next morning. This proposal being unanimously approved, some hours rest were allotted for the refreshment of the people, who were dreadfully fatigued; and at midnight they retired from the temple, leaving the fires burning, in order to deceive the enemy. After a march of four leagues, they came to a village advantageously situated, which was deserted by its inhabitants, where they staid two days till the wounded were again able to travel. They then marched two days through a rocky and barren country, at a distance from the great road; which they purposely avoided, being without shelter in the night, perpetually harassed by flying parties of Indians. In the last of these marches, they reached a village, where the inhabitants provided every thing for their entertainment with an air of frankness and hospitality; which was no more than an ill-judged stratagem, designed to lull the Spaniards into a careless security.

Early the next morning the army ascended a mountain, on the other side of which was the valley of Otumba; when Marina observed, that the Indians who still followed at a distance, shouted and frequently exclaimed, "Proceed, tyrants; you'll soon arrive at the place where you will all perish." Cortes took all possible precaution to prevent being
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surprized : but on his reaching the top of the mountain, he found the passage of the troops effectually obstructed by an immense multitude of armed men, who covered the extensive plain of Otumba. These were the Indians they encountered at the first temple, reinforced by a vast number of people from Mexico, with the principal nobles at their head, who had separated into several bodies, and marched by different roads with such expedition as to get the start of the Spaniards, and unite in this spacious plain, where there was no danger of their being embarrassed for want of room. The front of the army, which appeared from the diversity of the colours and standards, to be of different nations, extended along the whole breadth of the valley ; but the eye could not reach the extremity of the rear. In the centre appeared the captain-general of the empire, borne in a sumptuous chariot upon men's shoulders, that he might the better judge of emergencies, and see his orders punctually obeyed. Near him was the royal standard of Mexico, which was a net of massy gold, fastened to a pike, crowned with a plume of variegated feathers ; and this standard was never brought into the field, but upon the most extraordinary occasions. Indeed this vast army, with the motions of their different weapons, and their feather waving in the wind, formed an appearance that was at once beautiful and tremendous.

Cortes having taken a view of this dreadful army, turned with alacrity to his soldiers, and told them that they must either conquer or die ; but was immediately interrupted by his men, who called out, that he should give the word and lead them to battle. He was unwilling to balk their ardour ; and having ranged them in order, immediately advanced. The soldiers gave no stroke either with their lances or swords, but what was fatal. Cortes, reflecting that the strength of his men must soon fail, recollected that he had heard among the Mexicans, that the whole
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success of the battle depended upon the royal standard; the losing of which decided the fortune of the day. Upon which he instantly resolved to make an extraordinary effort to obtain it; and commanded Sandoval Alverado de Olid, and Davila to follow and secure his rear, while he, with his troop of horse, charged that part which appeared weakest and nearest the centre. This troop trode down whole battalions, and soon cut their way to the place where the imperial standard was defended by a guard composed of the nobles; when Cortes spurring his horse through the midst of them, wounded the captain-general, and threw him from his chariot with the first stroke of his lance: and Juan de Salamanca, a private gentleman, leaped from his horse, dispatched the general, and seizing the standard, gave it into the hands of Cortes.

The Mexicans no sooner beheld the imperial standard in the power of the Spaniards, than they struck all the rest of their colours, and betook themselves to a precipitate flight; while the victorious Spaniards made a dreadful slaughter of the fugitives, 20,000 Indians being said to be killed in the battle and pursuit. The spoils which Cortes divided among the soldiers, were very considerable; for the Mexicans depending upon their number, which amounted to 200,000, came adorned with their best jewels, as to a certain triumph.

The Spaniards now pursued their march, but not without some suspicion of being again attacked, as several bodies of men were seen on the tops of the mountains; but they proceeded without molestation, and the next day they entered the confines of Tlascala, when the whole army expressed their joy by loud acclamations, and the Tlascalans kissed the earth. At noon Cortes entered Gualipar, a considerable town, where he was received with great hospitality; and having quartered his troops there, he sent two Tlascalans to the senate with an account of his

his retreat: but the messengers were scarcely dismissed, when he was visited by Magiscatzin, Old Xicotencal, with his son, and others deputed by the senate, to compliment him upon his return. They proposed his immediately proceeding to the city, where quarters were already provided for the Spaniards. But he chose to remain in his present situation, till his people should be refreshed and intirely recovered from their fatigues, to which the Tlascalans the more readily assented, as this would give them time to prepare for his reception, and his entering the city in a solemn triumph.

The Spaniards were liberally supplied with necessities at the expence of the public, during a stay of three days at Gualipar; when adorning themselves with the plumes and jewels of the vanquished Mexicans, they began their march for Tlascala, which they entered in July 1520. The senate in their richest robes came out with a numerous attendance to receive them; the fields were crowded with people; the air was filled with acclamations, and they were saluted at their entrance with the sounds of flutes, drums and horns.

But in the midst of this festival, a damp was given to the public joy by Cortes's illness. A wound he had received in his head broke out afresh; he was seized with a dangerous fever, and his friends began to despair of his life. But the senate employing the most expert physicians in the country, he speedily recovered.

Cortes now impatiently longed to know the state of affairs at Vera Cruz, and therefore sent a letter to the governor, by an Indian courier, who soon returned with an answer, that no alteration had yet happened in the garrison or on the coast; and that Narvaez and Salvatiera were still in safe custody: but that a corporal and eight soldiers, who had been sent to Tlascala for the gold belonging to the garrison, were not returned; that it was reported among
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the Indians, that they were murdered in the province Tepeaca, and that it was feared the wounded soldiers belonging to Narvaez had met with the same fate; for being impatient to reach Mexico, which they considered as the centre of their wealth, they, as fast as they recovered, had marched away from Zempoalla for that city. Indeed the truth of this report was now confirmed by the Tlascalans, who had hitherto concealed it from Cortes, lest it should retard his recovery; and he had the mortification to find himself thus deprived of a reinforcement of near 50 Spaniards, who had been destroyed by the Indians of Tepeaca. Cortes therefore resolved to be revenged on that nation, which lay between him and Vera Cruz, and the Tlascalans promised to interest themselves in the quarrel.

At this time ambassadors from the new emperor of Mexico arrived at Gualipar, whence they sent to desire leave of the senate to enter the city, with proposals of peace; and this being granted with the consent of Cortes, they made their public entry with great splendor and solemnity, and were received in the senate house; where they made offers of peace and perpetual alliance, on condition of their declaring war against the Spaniards, and assisting them in their endeavours to extirpate those strangers. Their speech was interrupted by the murmurs of the assembly, who were exasperated at the proposal. However they were permitted to retire to the lodgings assigned them, till the senate should deliberate upon the subject of the embassy; when it was unanimously agreed to reject their proposals. But the ambassadors did not wait for a formal dismissal; for dreading lest some popular insurrection should be raised against them, they fled with great precipitation.

Notwithstanding the regard the Tlascalans upon this and other occasions shewed for the Spaniards, Xicotencal still hated and envied Cortes; and had hitherto disguised these dispositions under the masque
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of friendship. Though he did not so much as speak in the senate, in behalf of the Mexican proposals, he took the opportunity of sowing jealousies among the people by means of his friends; who privately magnified the advantages of an alliance with the Mexicans, and represented, with some truth, their friendship for the Spaniards as a dangerous connection, that would entail slavery and oppression upon them and their posterity. The senate were soon informed of these practices, and upon this occasion held a consultation; at which Xicotencal's father gave his opinion, that his son should suffer death, as a fower of sedition: but out of respect to the gray hairs and character of the father, they only ordered him to be brought before them in chains; deprived him of all the honours he enjoyed, and caused him to be thrown down the stairs of the senate-house. A few days after this degradation, Xicotencal implored forgiveness of Cortes, who did not know of his crime till after the punishment was inflicted; and by his interposition, was restored to his former rank.

Xicotencal now endeavoured to atone for his fault by his diligence in assembling the troops of the republic. Mean while the soldiers who came with Narvaez, being disgusted at the fatigues and dangers they had undergone, and intimidated at the thoughts of a new war, loudly exclaimed against the expedition to Tepeaca; and even delivered a formal protestation to Cortes, signifying their refusal to undertake that enterprize, and their desire to march immediately for Vera Cruz, where they might be nearer at hand to solicit reinforcements from St. Domingo and Jamaica.

Cortes was greatly provoked at this insolent remonstrance; but thought proper to disguise his resentment; and to represent to them, that as the Tepeacans had seized the passes of the mountains, it was impossible for them to reach Vera Cruz without fighting them, in which he should be assisted by the Tlascal-

calan troops, that were assembling for that purpose; but he assured them, that as soon as the Indians should be subdued, they who were unwilling to follow his fortune, should have free leave to depart.

Cortes having thus reconciled his troops to the service, marched with 8000 choice Tlascalans, commanded by officers of distinguished valour, and left the care of bringing up the rest to Xicotencal. Having proceeded three leagues, they spent the night in a village abandoned by the enemy. The Tepeacans now took the field in order to stop their march, and formed an ambuscade in some fields of maize, but being discovered by Cortes, when at a considerable distance, they were soon thrown into confusion; and being deserted by their Mexican allies, were totally routed, with the loss of almost their whole army. They therefore the same night sent deputies to implore the mercy of the conqueror.

The next day Cortes marched with his army into the city, where the inhabitants threw themselves at his feet. But upon his ordering his interpreters to proclaim king Charles, and a general pardon in the name of that prince, their apprehensions were converted into joy; and they entreated Cortes to take their city into his protection, that they might never more be influenced by the Mexicans to renounce their treaty with the Spaniards. Cortes instantly took advantage of this request, fortified the city with palisadoes and a trench; and built a kind of citadel to keep them in obedience, and secure the passage to Vera Cruz. But before this work was begun, he sent all the prisoners who had been taken in the battle, to Tlascala; where, by his direction, they were publicly sold for slaves.

Quilavaca, emperor of Mexico, dying about this time, the electors conferred the imperial dignity upon Quatimozin, son-in-law to Motezuma, a young prince of great sagacity; who immediately encouraged the
soldiers

soldiers with rewards and considerable privileges; treated his nobles with affability; and exempted his subjects from all tribute during the continuance of the war.

Cortes received an account of these transactions from some deputies from the cacique of Guacachula, a populous and warlike city, situated in the road to Mexico, who came to complain of the tyranny of the Mexicans, and to implore the assistance of the Spaniards against them. As Cortes made no doubt of this cacique's sincerity, and thought it highly necessary to expel the enemy from such an important place, he immediately formed a body of 30,000 Tlascalans, with 300 Spaniards, and 13 horse, and the next morning sent this army with the envoys of Guacachula, under the command of Christoval de Olid, who was directed to repulse the enemy, and take possession of the town. They were joined on their march by some bodies of confederate Indians, who had been ill-used by the Mexicans: and Cortes not long after arriving at the camp, proceeded with his new allies directly towards Guacachula. The Mexicans being informed of his motions, advanced between him and the city, and began the battle with great fury; when the cacique of Guacachula, taking advantage of this opportunity, fell suddenly upon the rear of the Mexicans, who in a little more than half an hour were entirely defeated. The Spaniards then entered the city, where they took up their quarters, while the Tlascalans and the other confederates, whose number was continually encreasing, staid without the wall; and many other caciques joining them, Cortes's army, soon after the battle, amounted to 120,000 men.

Cortes now resolved to reduce Yzucan, a town naturally of great strength; fortified with walls and ravelins, defended in front by a river, and garrisoned with 10,000 Mexicans, who had broke down the bridge in order to dispute the passage. Notwith-

standing these discouraging circumstances, the troops gained the opposite bank, and drove the enemy into the city; which they made a shew of defending: but the Spaniards had scarcely received orders for the attack, when the city was forsaken by the garrison and inhabitants. Some of the fugitives being brought back, were instantly discharged, with the offer of a pardon and good treatment to all who should return to their houses; and this had such an effect, that the town was almost filled the same day. The spoil obtained in both these actions, Cortes distributed among his new allies, and then returned with the Tlascalans to Tepeaca, where the fort and settlement was now compleated; to which he gave the name of Segura de la Frontera.

A ship arrived about this time at St. Juan de Ulua, with thirteen Spanish soldiers, some provisions and ammunition, and two horses, sent by Diego de Velasquez to Narvaez; under the command of Pedro de Barba. He landed without distrust, and was conducted to Vera Cruz, where he readily embraced Cortes's interest, and received the command of a company of cross-bows.

Eight days after a second ship arrived with eight soldiers more, with arms and ammunition; the officer who commanded this vessel, and his men also entered into the service of Cortes.

As the general was resolved to make a new attempt to conquer Mexico, he formed the scheme of building 12 or 13 brigantines that should be able to resist the Indian canoes, in order to escape the danger of passing the causeways: and these he proposed to carry in pieces on the shoulders of the Indian carriers, over the mountains of Tlascala, to a river in the neighbourhood of the lake. This singular project he communicated to Martin Lopez, who not only approved of the design, but undertook to execute it with the utmost facility; and was therefore immediately sent to Tlascala, with all the Spanish carpenters, and a number of Indians to cut wood. He at the same time

time employed many hands in extracting pitch from trees that grew upon the mountains, and sent others to the volcano before-mentioned, from whence they brought a large quantity of sulphur, which was made into gun-powder. These previous steps being taken, Cortes set out for Tlascala:

It has been already observed, that Francisco de Garay, governor of Jamaica, had sent to order Cortes not to make any settlement on this coast. But notwithstanding the disappointment he met with in having his messengers seized, he now resumed the enterprize, and sent three ships; but his soldiers had no sooner landed, than they were attacked with such fury, by the Indians, that they were obliged to return to their vessels in great disorder. His ships were afterwards separated for some days, when each of them severally formed the same design, and without knowing the sentiments of each other, arrived almost at the same instant on the coast of Vera Cruz, in order to serve under Cortes. The first ship that made land had sixty Spanish soldiers on board, and was commanded by Captain Camargo; the second brought fifty men, and seven horses, under the command of a brave and experienced officer, named Miguel Diaz de Cruz; and the third brought above forty soldiers, ten horses, and great plenty of arms and provisions, and was commanded by Captain Ramirez.

These people took the road to Tlascala, and were received with joy by the general and his people: but notwithstanding this acquisition of strength, the soldiers brought by Narvaez, were still importunate for leave to return to the island of Cuba; and reminded Cortes of the promise he had made before they set out on the expedition to Tepeaca. He was now the more inclined to grant their request, for his having received this reinforcement of men, whom he imagined would be more obedient to his command.

Cortes having directed Alverado to see these men embark, sent orders to the confederates to get ready

to march on the first notice, and in the mean time resolved to equip a vessel, and send other agents to Spain, in order to forward the negotiations of Portocarrero, and Montejo, and to desire them to send him an account of his interest at court, about which he was very anxious.

Cortes intrusted these dispatches to the care of Diego de Ordaz, and Alonzo de Mendoza, who a few days after embarked for Spain, after their having received private instructions to conceal their commission, till they should find Cortes's father and the two agents, with whom they were to act in concert. To give the greater weight to their joint solicitations, they carried a second present for his Majesty, which consisted of gold and some curiosities. He at the same time dispatched Alonzo Davila, and Francisco Alvarez Chico, with letters to the regulars of St. Jerome, who presided in the royal audience of St. Domingo, and had jurisdiction over all the islands, and new discoveries on the main land; intreating their speedy assistance in promoting his success, and the interposition of their authority in putting a stop to the proceedings of Velasquez and Garay; and these fathers soon sent him a favourable answer.

After a prosperous voyage, Ordaz and Mendoza arrived at Seville, where they found the commissioners of trade had express orders from the bishop of Burgos, to imprison any one sent from New Spain, and to seize the gold and other merchandise brought from thence. Leaving the present therefore in the hands of those judges, they thought themselves happy in escaping with their letters and dispatches, and went in search of Martin Cortes, and the two agents, who had been before sent from Mexico. These persons they found at Medellin, and being afterward encouraged by Adriano the cardinal-regent, to whom they shewed Cortes's letters, entered a prosecution against the bishop of Burgos in his own court, and obtained a verdict in their favour. This sentence being

being laid before the emperor, who at this time was just returned from Germany, it was approved by his majesty, and Hernando Cortes was declared a faithful subject; perpetual silence was ordered to be imposed on Velasquez, with respect to any pretensions to the conquest of New Spain, and he was only allowed to sue for the money he had expended in fitting out Cortes's fleet. Several marks of the royal favour were bestowed on Martin Cortes, on account of his son's merit: some regulars were named for the conversion of the Indians, and a fleet was ordered to be speedily fitted out, with a supply of men, ammunition and horses.

Cortes in the mean time received another unexpected supply of thirteen Spanish soldiers, who came in order to seek their fortunes, in a vessel that arrived at Vera Cruz. He therefore resolved to begin his march, and as the troops of his allies were already assembled, he did not choose to wait till the brigantines were finished.

This resolution being taken, Cortes reviewed the Spaniards, who amounted to 540 soldiers, with 40 horse, and nine pieces of artillery, that were brought on shore from the ships. This review was made with great ostentation, in order to raise the admiration of the Indians, an innumerable concourse of whom were assembled to see the spectacle. Xicotencal, at the head of 10,000 Tlascalans, complimented Cortes, by appearing in his gayest accoutrements, and performed the Indian exercise with equal pomp and agility. All his captains being adorned with variegated feathers, and jewels hanging at their ears and lips, they carried their two-handed swords under the left arm, with the point upwards, and each was attended by a page who bore his shield, on which was represented in figures his own warlike achievements.

Cortes being sensible of the difficulty of governing an army composed of many different nations, without strict discipline; formed several articles of war to be

observed on pain of death, and other penalties : which orders being interpreted to the commanders of the Indian troops, they behaved with the utmost regularity and circumspection.

The general having settled these wise regulations, and every thing being ready for the march, he caused the Spaniards to be drawn up, and then made a speech, in which he exhorted them to behave with complacency to the poor Indians, who had so warmly espoused their interest; and declared his intention to punish offenders with all the rigour of military discipline; reminded them of the honour they had already acquired; represented the harvest of glory that lay before them, and protested that he would upon all occasions reward superior merit to the utmost of his ability and judgment.

After this speech, which was answered with loud acclamations, he, on the feast of Innocents, in the year 1520, put himself at the head of the army, which consisted of 60,000 men, and proceeded with all possible precaution into the enemies country. Here being informed that the Mexicans were assembled on the other side of a mountain, in the road to Tezeuco, he halted all night in the open fields, making large fires on account of the weather. Early in the morning they began to ascend the mountain, which was overgrown with wood; but having proceeded about a league, they found the way blocked up with trees, and sharp stakes fixed in the sand, in order to wound the horses. However, these impediments were soon removed by a detachment of 2000 Tlascalans, and small parties were detached to guard against ambuscades. Having marched two leagues farther, they arrived at the summit of the mountain, from which they had a view of the great lake of Mexico, and saw fires successively kindled in the distant towns, as signals of their approach. Continuing their march they got clear of the woods, and descried the enemy's army at a great distance. It
filled

On his approach to Tezeuco, he was met by some ambassadors from Cacumazin, the cacique of that place, requesting admission into the number of his allies, with many offers of service. Though from some circumstances these professions were suspected, yet Cortes thought it prudent to assent to his proposals. When he arrived at the town, he found the gates open, and the cacique, with most of the inhabitants, fled: for by his ambassadors learning the strength Cortes had with him, he was afraid of executing a scheme he had concerted of destroying him in the night while he staid with him. Cortes was however waited on by the nobles, and a genteel youth, son of the cacique's elder brother, whom he had murdered to usurp his possessions. Him Cortes invested with the sovereignty, to the general joy of the people, who returned and made an alliance with the Spaniards, declaring the Mexicans enemies.

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Mexicans,

Mexicans, who fought with great bravery, and then retired into the city, where, without staying to defend the entrance, or shut up the gates, they threw themselves into the lake, and suddenly disappeared.

Cortes, finding that the gates were left open, entered the city, the higher part of which was entirely abandoned, and proposed to take up his quarters there for the night; but it no sooner began to grow dark, than the Spaniards perceived the canals overflow, and the water of the lake rushing with great impetuosity from a number of sluices, which obliged them to quit the place in the greatest hurry to prevent the whole army being drowned.

Cortes was extremely mortified at the success of this stratagem, and spent the night on a little rising ground, where the troops suffered by the wetness of their cloaths and the coldness of the weather, and at day-break retreated towards Tezeuco, making his men march as fast as possible, to keep them warm. But they had not advanced far, when seeing themselves pursued by a vast multitude of the enemy, they were obliged to face about in order to sustain their attack, which was very violent: the Mexicans, however, being soon repulsed with considerable loss, the army resumed their march.

While Cortes continued at Tezeuco, many of the neighbouring caciques came to enter into an alliance with him against the emperor of Mexico; and among others, deputies arrived in great haste from the provinces of Chalco and Otumba, to solicit assistance against an army of Mexicans, that appeared upon the frontiers, in order to punish them for having entered into an alliance with the Spaniards. Cortes resolving to grant them immediate assistance, detached Gonzalo de Sandoval, and Francisco de Lugo, with 200 Spaniards, 15 horse, and a body of Tlascalans. These were attacked in their march by a body of Mexicans, who lay in ambuscade; but they were defeated with much slaughter. Eight of the most
confi-

considerable persons in the army were taken prisoners, after which the Spaniards passed the night in the city of Chalco, where they were entertained with great hospitality: and as the Chalquese had long been at enmity with the Tlascalans, the Spanish captains seized this opportunity of proposing a peace between the two nations, which was afterward confirmed by the senate of Tlascala.

Sandoval and Lugo, having thus happily terminated this expedition, returned to Tezeuco, when Cortes ordered the eight Mexican prisoners to be brought before him, and received them in the midst of his captains with a look of great severity. He told them that he would grant them both life and liberty, if they would promise him to inform their prince, that he was coming to demand satisfaction for their perfidiously attacking him in his retreat from Mexico, in direct opposition to the treaty which they themselves had proposed and confirmed; but principally to revenge Motezuma's death. He added, that his army being now augmented, he would in a short time seek the emperor in the midst of his court, and lay the city of Mexico in ashes, unless he would sue for a peace, which should be granted on reasonable terms. He then ordered the prisoners to be unchained, and to have a boat to carry them to Mexico by water; at which they threw themselves at his feet, and promised not only to make the emperor acquainted with what he said; but to use their utmost endeavours to procure an accommodation.

Martin Lopez about this time sent word to Cortes that the brigantines were finished, and that he would speedily set forward with them, the republic of Tlascala having provided 10,000 carriers, and 2000 to relieve those who should be tired, besides those appointed to carry the provisions and ammunition: but that he thought it advisable to stay in the last town of the Tlascalans for a convoy of Spaniards, since it would not be safe to pass through the Mexican

can territories with no other force than the Indian allies.

This news filled the army with joy, and Cortes immediately gave orders to Sandoval to march with 200 Spaniards, 15 horse, and some companies of Tlascalans towards the territories of the republic, in order to conduct Lopez with his materials to Tezeuco. This officer accordingly set out, but halted at Zalepeque, a small town that refused to submit, and was the very place where the Spaniards were murdered in their way from Vera Cruz to Mexico, for which reason he had orders to chastise and reduce the inhabitants; but they no sooner perceived the detachment than they fled to the mountains: when Sandoval entering the town, found written with charcoal upon a wall, *In this house the unhappy Juan Justina was taken, with many others of his companions:* and afterward they found in one of the temples the dried heads of the Spaniards.

This dreadful sight filled the Spaniards with rage, and Sandoval resolved to punish the inhabitants with the utmost rigour. At this instant several companies that had been detached in pursuit of the fugitives, returned with a great number of men, women, and children, after having killed upon the mountains all who refused to surrender. These poor creatures, half dead with fear, implored the mercy of the Spaniards by their tears and outcries, and soon moved them to compassion. Sandoval privately desired the officers to intercede in their behalf, that they might set the greater value upon their pardon, which he at length granted; and received the submission of the cacique and principal citizens, who afterward strictly adhered to the Spaniards.

The remains of the murdered Spaniards being decently interred, Sandoval continued his march to the frontiers of Tlascala, where Martin Lopez received him with joy. He had with him a young officer called Chichemecal, who commanded the Tlascalan
rein-

reinforcement, and had been with difficulty persuaded to wait for the Spanish detachment, he being extremely desirous of distinguishing himself against the Mexicans. On their approaching Tezeuco, they were met by Cortes and the cacique of that city, and made their entrance into it, amidst the acclamations of the whole army, after which all the materials were separately stored in a large workhouse prepared for that purpose near the canals.

Cortes, being informed that the vessels could not be finished in less than 20 days, resolved to engage in some enterprize, and therefore leaving the government of Tezeuco to Sandoval, put himself at the head of a detachment of 250 Spanish infantry, 20 horse, and a numerous body of the nobles of Tezeuco; 15,000 Tlascalans, under the command of Chichimecal, and about 5000 commanded by Xicotencal; with which force he scoured the country between Tezeuco and Tacuba, the last town on the lake between that place and Mexico.

Cortes being sensible of the difficulty of reducing Tacuba, returned to Tezeuco, where he had the satisfaction of learning that a vessel was arrived at Vera Cruz, laden with a great quantity of arms, and ammunition; with a person on board named Julian de Alderete, who came in the character of the king's treasurer, and some Spanish soldiers of distinction, who instantly marched to Tlascala, where they obtained an escort which conducted them to Tezeuco.

The caciques of Chalco and Thumanalco sending messengers to Cortes to desire his assistance, against a powerful army of Mexicans, he ordered Sandoval to march with a body of forces to their relief; who overcame them in three different engagements. However, the emperor ordered a new army to march, over whom the Chalqueses, after a desperate action, obtained a compleat victory.

Cortes now resolved to penetrate in person as far as Suchimilco, a town upon the lake, with a broad causeway,

way, which joined those that led to Mexico, and this was a seasonable relief to the Chalqueses, who had discovered a new army of Mexicans on that side. The confederate caciques were already assembled in the city of Chalco, when Cortes unexpectedly arrived, and filled the city with joy and gratitude. That general being then told by the Indian scouts that the Mexicans had taken possession of some almost inaccessible mountains on the road to Suchimilco, marched directly to a town which he found deserted by its inhabitants, and in which he spent the night. He was much harassed by the enemy, and had several skirmishes with them by the way : but when he drew near the city, being joined by several bodies of the allies, he advanced toward the Mexicans who had halted without the walls, and fell upon them with such resolution as they were entering the gates, that he entered with the fugitives, and ordering some companies to force the barricadoes in the streets on the right and left ; he advanced to the principal avenues, where the enemy had their greatest force. This he with some difficulty surmounted, and rushed forward into a multitude of the enemy, but instantly finding himself surrounded, and his retreat cut off, he supported himself for some time ; till his horse falling, he was in extreme danger, and nothing saved him, but the great desire of the Mexicans to seize him alive for a present to the emperor ; but before they could carry him off, Christoval de Olea, a common soldier of distinguished bravery, seeing his distress, and calling to some Tlascalans, who were fighting near him, put himself at their head, and forced his way to the place with such resolution, that he killed the Mexicans who had seized Cortes, and he having thus recovered his liberty, with only two slight wounds, pushed the enemy so rigorously, that they fled to that part of the city which was built in the water, and left the Spaniards masters of all the streets upon the firm land.

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The troops without the gates were in the mean while warmly attacked by a body of 10,000 Mexicans, who fought for some time with great obstinacy, but were at length glad to return with considerable loss.

This success made Cortes master of all the streets and buildings on the firm land; and having placed sufficient guards by the water side, he ordered an officer and 20 or 30 soldiers to keep watch on the top of the principal temple. Near the close of the evening they discovered about 2000 armed canoes advancing with great speed from Mexico, upon which the guards at the landing places were immediately doubled; and in the morning about 15,000 of the enemy landed at a considerable distance from the city. Cortes immediately marched out and charged them with such impetuosity, that they were routed at the first attack, and the whole action appeared rather a chace than a victory.

Cortes having continued four days at Suchimilco, retired in good order, with the satisfaction of having accomplished the end of his expedition, by taking a view of that city, and weakening the force of the enemy: he was, however, inwardly dissatisfied at his having lost nine or ten Spaniards in this expedition. For besides those who were killed in attempting to scale the mountains, three or four were taken alive, while they were pillaging one of the houses at Suchimilco; and two of his servants fell into an ambuscade, by imprudently separating from the army.

Cortes had not been long returned to Tezeuco, when one of his veteran soldiers requested a private audience of him, with many indications of having something of great moment to communicate; which being granted, he gave him all the particulars of a conspiracy that had been formed in his absence. The chief contriver of this treacherous design was a private soldier named Antonio de Villafana, who disliking the enterprize against Mexico, blamed the general for his

his pursuit of that conquest, accusing him of obstinacy and rashness. Finding that his fellow soldiers listened to his insinuations, he expressed a desire of relinquishing the enterprize, and returning to Cuba; but as it was impossible to do this without Cortes's consent, he, after having sufficiently sounded his confederates, proposed to them a scheme for assassinating the general and all his principal officers, except Francisco Verdugo, who had married the sister of Diego Velasquez, and upon him they proposed to confer the chief command, which would give a kind of sanction to the mutiny, and be highly agreeable to the governor of Cuba: but as they knew Verdugo to be a man of honour, they durst not acquaint him with their design.

The general having received this intelligence, went immediately with two alcaldes and some of his captains to Villafana's quarters, where he found him with three or four of his accomplices, and having put him in irons, and ordered every body to retire, while he examined him in private; he took out of the wretch's bosom a paper signed by all the conspirators, in which he found some names that greatly increased his concern. But concealing the paper from his friends, he ordered the soldiers who were found with Villafana to be put into another prison, and then withdrew, directing the officers of justice to proceed in his trial with all possible dispatch, without taking notice of any of his accomplices: and Villafana being condemned to die, was the next morning seen hanging at the window of his own lodging, so that his guilt and punishment were made public at the same time. Cortes pretended that Villafana had swallowed a paper which he believed contained the names of the conspirators; and then assembling his captains and soldiers, gave them a summary account of the design against his life, and the lives of many present; said, that he thought himself happy in not knowing Villafana's accomplices, and entreated his friends to inquire whe-

ther the Spaniards had any complaint to make against his proceedings; because he was above all things desirous of giving entire satisfaction to his soldiers, and was ready to correct his own faults. At the same time he ordered the soldiers, who had been taken with Villafana, to be set at liberty, and behaved to the rest of the conspirators as usual, so that thinking him ignorant of their crime, they afterwards served him with extraordinary circumspection, in order to avert any suspicion of their fidelity. He however seized this opportunity of having twelve men, commanded by an officer, to guard his person.

Cortes was a few days after perplexed with another affair that gave him no small disturbance. Xicotencal having conceived some disgust at Cortes, resolved to leave the army; and having assembled some companies of Tlascalans who were attached to his interest, retired in the night; of which Cortes being informed, sent after him some noble Indians of Tezeuco, to persuade him to return; but Xicotencal's answer so provoked the general, that he dispatched three companies of Spaniards, with an additional force of Indians, with orders to take him prisoner, or to kill him in case of resistance. As he defended himself to the last, it was impracticable to take him alive; and he no sooner fell, than his soldiers, who fought with reluctance, readily submitted and returned to Tezeuco, leaving their general hanging on a tree.

The brigantines being now ready, Cortes ordered them to be launched and rigged, and then reviewed the Spaniards, who amounted to 900 men, near 200 of whom used fire-arms and cross-bows, the rest were armed with swords, bucklers, and lances: he had also 86 horse, and 18 pieces of cannon, with a large quantity of ammunition. He then ordered, on board each vessel, 20 Spaniards under the command of a captain, with twelve rowers and one piece of artillery.

Cortes

Cortes resolving to take possession at the same time of the three principal causeways: the expedition of Tacuba was intrusted to Alverado, who had 150 Spanish foot, 30 horse, 30,000 Tlascalans, and two pieces of cannon. The attack of the causeway called Iztapalapa was committed to Sandoval, who commanded 150 Spaniards, 24 horse, two pieces of artillery, and all the troops of Chalco, Cholula, and Guacocingo, amounting to above 40,000 men; and the attempt upon Cuyocan, another of them, was assigned to De Olid, with 160 Spaniards, two pieces of cannon, and 30,000 confederate Indians.

Alverado and Olid marched together as far as Tacuba, which was abandoned by the inhabitants, as were all the towns upon the lake, who were gone to defend Mexico. The two Spanish captains had notice that the Mexicans had formed a considerable body within half a league of the city to cover the aqueducts that supplied it with fresh water. Upon this intelligence they marched thither, and after a very obstinate battle, drove the enemy from their post, broke the aqueducts, and by this means effectually cut off their water.

Olid then marched to Cuyocan the other causeway; and Cortes having allowed Sandoval time to reach Iztapalapa, embarked with the cacique of Tezeuco and his brother, and took upon himself the command of the lake, after having left a sufficient number of troops to cover his place of arms, and secure a communication with his quarters. His thirteen brigantines being drawn up in a line, and adorned with flags and streamers, he approached Mexico; and then failing back observed a pretty large castle, situated upon a small island, which the enemy thought impregnable. Cortes landed here with 150 Spaniards, and drove the enemy, who made a brave defence, into the castle, where they were so crowded, that having no room to manage their arms, they were obliged to surrender.

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The Spaniards then returned to their brigantines, in order to steer towards Iztapalapa to assist Sandoval; when they observed a fleet of 4000 canoes assembling on the lake. Cortes drew up his vessels in the form of an half-moon, and advanced toward the canoes, when a breeze of wind suddenly springing up, they began to attack at a distance with the artillery, and then making use of their sails, ran in among the canoes with such force as over-set all that stood in their way, while their fire-arms and cross-bows made a terrible slaughter. The nobles of Mexico, who had manned the 500 canoes in the front, made some opposition; but most of these being destroyed, the rest were thrown into such confusion, that they ran foul of each other, so that the greatest part of them over-set: when the brigantines pursuing the miserable remains of this fleet with their cannon shot, forced them to take shelter in the canals of the city of Mexico.

Cortes passed the night near Tezeuco, and in the morning was preparing to sail to Iztapalapa, when he discovered a great number of canoes making toward Cuyocan; and following them, found De Olid engaged on the causeway with the enemy who defended it, and at the same time with the canoes on each side, against each of whom being obliged to make a front, he was hardly able to keep the ground he had gained. The Mexicans had drawn up the bridges on the causeways toward the city, and mounting on them in ranks, charged from the top. The Spaniards were obliged to clear these places of defence with their cross-bows, while fascines were brought to fill the ditch; but a piece of artillery being brought up, it soon cleared the passages. De Olid had just made himself master of the first ditch when the canoes arrived; but at the sight of the brigantines all the Mexicans fled with precipitation: and the canoes on the other side, as soon as three brigantines had got through a wide passage, retired in disorder toward the city.

The troops passed the night upon the causeway, and in the morning proceeded on their march with little or no opposition, till they approached the last bridge, which they found fortified with strong works, and the trenches that were cut in the streets were defended by a vast multitude of people. The artillery from the brigantines made a dreadful slaughter of them, while De Olid having ruined the fortification of the causeway, and filled up the ditch, charged the Mexicans who had defended them; and Cortes landing with 30 Spaniards, gave such life to the attack, that the enemy quickly turned their backs, and the chief street of Mexico was gained. The fugitives, however, took possession of a temple near the entrance of the city, and from this post they defied the Spaniards; but Cortes ordering three or four pieces of cannon to be landed, they were soon made sensible of their danger, and all that part of the city was forsaken: the next day Cortes retired along the causeway to Cuyocan, guarded on each side by his brigantines, so that the enemy durst not disturb his march.

Cortes then proceeded to Iztapalapa, where he found Sandoval reduced to the last extremity. He had taken possession of the buildings on the land, and had made great havock among those who approached in their canoes; he had demolished some houses, and overthrown two or three reinforcements from Mexico sent to attack him by land: and that day the Indians having abandoned a large building, he resolved to seize it, in order to enlarge his quarters. This scheme he effected by forming a passage with fascines; but he had no sooner entered the house with some of his people, than a great number of canoes which had lain in ambush, advanced with a multitude of Mexicans, who threw themselves into the water, and dragging away the fascines, cut off his retreat, by which means he was besieged on all sides. He was in this distress when Cortes arrived, and observing the vast number of

of canoes in the water streets, advanced with all possible speed, and played his artillery with such success, that the enemy fled in great confusion. The loss of the Mexicans upon this occasion was very great.

Cortes now resolved to quit the post he was in, and to dispatch Sandoval to Tapeaquilla, where there was another causeway, the possession whereof would effectually cut off the enemy's provisions, of which they already began to be in want. Sandoval advancing, and finding the place forsaken, lodged himself in it without resistance. The general then sailed to Tacuba to visit Alverado, who had met with various success: for though the place was deserted at his approach, he had, like De Olid, been obliged to beat down works, and to fill up ditches.

Cortes now resolved to put a stop to all operations by land, till he had made himself master of the lake: for this purpose he prevailed on the allied towns to send a vast number of canoes manned by the most expert Indians, who with the brigantines sailing continually about the lake, and along the three causeways, afforded them an opportunity of taking many canoes loaded with provisions and water, which reduced the besieged to great distress. The Mexicans, however, gave him much trouble by their numbers and their devices to ensnare him; but at length his great guns cleared the lake of them.

In consequence of his becoming master of the navigation on the lake, Cortes found that the besieged began to want provisions; he therefore exerted his utmost diligence in cutting off all relief from the city: and in the mean time dismissed two Mexican noblemen with a message to the emperor Guatimozin with overtures of peace. The emperor was advised to agree to the general's proposal; but this favourable disposition was destroyed by the remonstrances of the priests: insomuch that Guatimozin himself declared, that to whatever distress the city should be reduced, he would

put the first man to death, who should from thence forward mention peace.

Cortes was no sooner informed of this, than he resolved to carry fire and sword into the city; and for that purpose sent orders to the commanders of the troops of Tacuba and Tapeaquilla, while he himself marched by the causeway of Cuyocan, at the head of the troops commanded by De Olid. All obstacles were soon removed, and the troops advanced without any considerable opposition to the last bridge, where the Indians had broke down part of the causeway to enlarge the ditch; and on the opposite bank they had raised a fortification covered with planks: it was however soon destroyed by the artillery, and the enemy retired into the city. Thus the shore being left free, Cortes ordered his men to land immediately, and to take on shore the horse and three pieces of cannon; but before he advanced into the streets, he gave orders to Julian de Alderete to stay behind, and fill up the ditch, while the brigantines were to approach the scene of action by the great canals, and to fire upon the enemy. But Alderete no sooner heard them engaged, than thinking his employment dishonourable, he rushed forward to have a share in the battle, leaving the care of filling up the ditch to another officer, who also abandoned it for the same reason. The Mexicans stood the first charge, and behaved with great bravery, doing the Spaniards considerable damage from the windows and tops of the houses. But suddenly, in the heat of the engagement, they quit- ted the ground; for Guatimozin being informed that the great ditch was abandoned, resolved to fall upon the Spaniards in their retreat.

Cortes suspected their intent; and having barely time to return to his quarters before night, began his retreat, after having set fire to several houses from which he had sustained some damage. The Spaniards had scarcely begun to march back, before they were attacked

attacked on all sides by an incredible number of chosen warriors, who fought with such intrepidity, that they disregarded both the fire-arms and cross-bows. Cortes being informed that the retreat was hindered by the ditch, endeavoured to form his battalions; but could not, because the confederates being in the front, were the first who arrived at the ditch, and had thrown themselves into it with such confusion, that they were destroyed by the Mexicans, who either wounded or drowned them. The general was now left with his people to maintain the fight; when his horse being killed under him, Captain Francisco de Guzman alighted to give him his, and was taken prisoner, without a possibility of being rescued. At length, however, Cortes got to the brigantines, and returned to his quarters, wounded, and extremely mortified at his defeat; above 40 Spaniards being taken prisoners. Upwards of 1000 Tlascalans were killed; one piece of cannon was lost, and of the Spaniards scarce one escaped unwounded.

The next day Guatimozin caused a report to be spread, that Cortes was killed. However, his allies soon recovered their fright, fresh succours came in, and several nations that had hitherto continued neuter, being sensible of the distress of Mexico, declared for the Spaniards. So that in a few days Cortes found himself at the head of above 200,000 men. The city was now in the greatest distress for want of bread and water, which induced the general to proceed to action, and as he had suffered so much in retreating, it was agreed that the commander of each body of Spaniards should endeavour to stay in that part of the city into which he should penetrate.

This plan being approved, Alverado and Sandoval began their march by day-break from Tacuba to Tapeaquilla: Cortes advanced from Cuyocan with a body of troops commanded by Olid; while the brigantines and canoes were distributed so as to support the three attacks. All the difficulties were surmount-

ed as usual; and the three captains entering the city much about the same time, fortified themselves with the ruins of the houses.

This new method of proceeding filled the Mexicans with consternation, and entirely broke all their measures. A council was immediately summoned at Guatimozin's palace; where it was resolved to dislodge the Spaniards, and their army being divided into three bodies, advanced to the attack at break of day. But preparations having been made for their reception, they no sooner approached, than the artillery began to play upon the avenues, and made such a terrible slaughter of the van-guard, that they durst not proceed; when the Spaniards rushing upon them, they were soon routed and dispersed, by which means they obtained better quarters for the ensuing night. The Spaniards that continued were obliged, as they advanced, to destroy houses, level works, and fill up the trenches cut across every street; and notwithstanding these obstructions, all the three leaders in less than four days came in sight of the principal square in the city where they had agreed to meet.

The enemy perceiving the whole force of the Spaniards to be now united, ran with the utmost precipitation to defend the person of their prince; by which means Cortes had an opportunity of lodging his troops to the best advantage. The next morning all the streets in possession of the enemy were filled with armed men, in order to cover those who were raising a kind of fortification: but as they did not proceed to hostilities, Cortes suspended the attack he had meditated, and resolved to try once more whether they were disposed to an accommodation, now they saw him so advantageously posted. He therefore sent a message to Guatimozin, who had retired with his ministers and the nobility to a spacious angle of the city, the greatest part of which was defended by the lake.

A suspension of arms being agreed upon, Guatimozin held several councils, to deliberate on the overtures of peace; and the majority were for agreeing to the treaty; while others were for continuing the war, who being joined by the priests, it was resolved to prosecute it. In the mean time the emperor gave orders that all the piraguas and canoes should retire to a bay, in order to secure his retreat in case he should be driven to extremities. Cortes immediately suspected their design, and therefore appointed Sandoval commander in chief of all the brigantines, with orders to surround the bay at a distance, and to keep a strict watch upon the enemy's motions.

Cortes having taken these steps, advanced with his troops; which the Mexicans perceiving, prepared for an engagement. But they no sooner observed the terrible havock made by the first discharge of the cannon on their wooden fortifications, than they sent notice of it to Guatimozin, and in a little time demanded a parley: upon which, four Mexicans, who seemed persons of distinction, appeared on the farther side of a ditch, and informed Cortes that they were appointed to receive his proposals; but the general desired that the emperor himself would come to treat in person, and in the mean time a stop should be put to all acts of hostility. With this answer the ambassadors retired, and word was brought that the emperor would come the next day to conclude a treaty, but he put off his coming for several days.

However, the day being come, which was the utmost period allowed by Cortes, Sandoval discovered, before the sun arose, great multitudes embarking on board the canoes in the bay; and these attacked the brigantines with great fury, without being terrified at the havock made among them by the artillery.

In the hottest part of the engagement Sandoval observed six or seven piraguas rowing with the utmost

speed from the farthest part of the bay, upon which he ordered a brigantine to give them chase. The captain soon came up with the foremost piragua, which seemed to command the rest, when the Mexicans instantly ceased rowing, and desired him not to fire, because the emperor was on board. The captain with other Spaniards immediately leaped into the piragua, to secure their prize. Upon which Guatimozin said, "I am your prisoner, and ready to go whither you think fit to conduct me. All the favour I have to ask is, that some regard may be paid to the honour of the empress my consort, and her female attendants." Guatimozin then passing into the brigantine, gave his hand to that princess to help her up the side. The captain had no sooner made Guatimozin prisoner, than he dispatched a canoe to Cortes with an account of his success; and all military operations ceased soon after. This great event happened on the 13th of August, 1521, and from thence has been dated the dominion of the Spaniards over the Mexican empire.

Cortes thinking it was still necessary to reduce that part of the city which was in the enemy's possession, left the care of his prisoners to Sandoval, and went out to give orders for another attack. But Guatimozin suspecting the cause of his abrupt departure, desired to speak with him; and upon his returning back, conjured him to spare his unhappy subjects, who would surrender peaceably as soon as they were informed of his captivity. He therefore intreated Cortes to allow one of his ministers to accompany him, and command the Mexicans, in their prince's name, to obey the Spanish general, which order they no sooner heard, than they threw down their arms and submitted.

Cortes's troops no sooner took possession of the places evacuated by the Mexicans, than they found themselves surrounded with objects of horror; a vast number of miserable wretches, of the sick and wounded,

ed,

ed, were lying calling upon death to release them from their tortures. Whole houses, and courts, were filled with the bodies of persons of distinction who had been slain in battle, and were kept till their funerals could be performed; and from these places proceeded a stench that threatened the air with infection, and obliged Cortes to take immediate care to prevent a pestilence by giving orders for interring the bodies. While this necessary office was performed, he retired with his prisoners to Cuyocan, after his having assigned quarters to Alverado and Sandoval, who superintended the cleansing of Mexico; and this disagreeable duty being in a few days performed, he returned again to the city.

The respect with which the emperor Guatimozin was treated did not last long, for the soldiers remembering the vast quantities of gold they had formerly seen in Motezuma's possession, demanded an account of what was become of it. When Cortes protesting his ignorance, they suggested that he had secretly secured it for his own use. Hence they grew furious and insolent; in which disposition they were encouraged by Julian de Alderete, the king's treasurer, who had great authority; and being nephew to the bishop of Burgos, was inclined to do Cortes all the mischief in his power. Alderete being unable to obtain any account of these treasures, demanded that the emperor and his first minister should be put into his hands, in order to be examined about them; which Cortes in his present circumstances did not care to refuse.

This inhuman monster, according to some authors, caused them to be immediately put upon the rack; but as others with greater truth affirm, had them extended upon burning coals. When they were both in this situation, the minister casting his eyes upon the emperor cried out violently; upon which Guatimozin with great composure said, "Do you think I lie here upon roses?" At which the poor man

man was so struck, that he expired without uttering any further complaint: but Cortes, hearing his first cries, burst into the apartment, and released the emperor before it was too late; upon which occasion the soldiers themselves approved his conduct, and blamed the treasurer's barbarity. No discovery was however made by this instance of cruelty. They then searched all the parts of the lake to no purpose; ransacked the temples, in which they found but little gold; and tore to pieces the tombs, in which a small quantity was found, which Cortes, in order to pacify them, divided amongst them.

Those provinces of the Mexican empire that were nearest the capital immediately submitted; and Cortes having received intelligence of the kingdom of Mechoacan, which lay to the westward of Mexico, he sent Montano with three other Spaniards as ambassadors to the king, who at first gave them an indifferent reception: but afterward treated them with great magnificence, and even went in person to see Cortes; who soon after dispatched Christopher de Olid with an army to take possession of that country; which he accordingly did, and forced the king to fly for shelter into the mountains.

Cortes upon this great flow of success, lost that humanity and virtue by which he had before distinguished himself; discovering the utmost haughtiness and cruelty. He erected forts, and sent Sandoval to subdue the countries near Tabasco and Tecomtepee on the North sea, while he sent De Alverado with a body of Spaniards and confederate Indians, to take possession of the countries bordering on the vale of Guaxaca, to the eastward of Mexico.

While Cortes was thus employed in reducing an amazing extent of country to the obedience of Charles V. emperor and king of Spain, Christoval de Tapia arrived at Vera Cruz, with a commission from that prince to command all the new conquests: but he was so threatened and terrified by the garrison of Vera Cruz,

Cruz, that he was glad to make his escape, and leave the general in possession of Mexico.

Cortes now marched in person into the province of Panuco, which he not only reduced to subjection, but had the inhumanity, in violation of the laws of nature and nations, to divide the country and all the Indian inhabitants amongst the officers and soldiers, who treated them as slaves; and this was his practice in every province, whether the people voluntarily submitted to him, or were compelled to it by force: but he sent such rich presents to the emperor, that notwithstanding his cruelty, he was declared captain-general and governor of New Spain; and the governors of Hispaniola and Cuba were commanded to send him supplies, and to give him all possible assistance.

Cortes now finding himself established in his command, set about rebuilding the city of Mexico; assigned places for erecting churches and public edifices; laid out market places; divided the best part of the ground among the Spaniards, and the rest among the natives.

All his conquests could not however procure him a peaceable establishment. He was in danger from the intrigues of the Indians, who, from a love of liberty, were desirous of recovering their country, and driving out or extirpating the Spaniards: and therefore in 1527, he hanged the emperor Guatimozin, and two other Indian princes, whom he had detected in a conspiracy against him. Sometimes he was exposed to danger, by his own countrymen: Christoval de Olid, who had behaved so gallantly in the war against the Mexicans, revolted from him; but was soon taken off by a violent death. Several conspiracies were formed to murder him: he had also many enemies in Spain, who took such pains to prejudice the emperor Charles V. against him, that he found it necessary to return thither, in order to justify his conduct.

duct. Accordingly in 1528, he undertook that voyage, and was received by Charles V. with great respect; that prince gave him the whole vale of Atrisco, with the towns and villages upon it; conferred on him the title of Marquis of the vale of Guaxaca, and to compleat his favours, procured him a very honourable marriage.

The next year he returned to Mexico with his lady; but afterward being involved in some disputes with the viceroy of Mexico, he, in the year 1542, made a second voyage to Spain; where he died in a village near Seville, called Castilleja de la Cuesta, on the 2d of December, 1554, in the 63d year of his age; after which his corpse, by his own direction, was carried to New Spain.

T H E
D I S C O V E R Y
O F
G O L D E N C A S T I L E.

AS we are now entering upon another curious, but affecting narrative, the conquest of Peru; it will be necessary to resume the account of the discoveries and transactions of the Spaniards, with which we introduced the conquest of Mexico.

Vasquez Nunez de Balboa, having established himself in the government of Santa Maria, as has been already related; immediately contrived to make the best use of the great power he had obtained, in order to extend the discoveries, and acquire more gold: this he foresaw would prove the only effectual means of securing a continuance in that elevation, to which he had in so extraordinary a manner risen.

His first care was to secure the needful supplies for the colony; and for this purpose he sent his friend Valdivia to Hispaniola, to prevail on the governor and council to furnish him and his people with all they wanted: and sent his colleague Zamudio directly to Spain to inform the court of their situation, and of the great probability there was of their being able to make considerable discoveries and conquests. He gave

Valdivia

Valdivia a considerable quantity of gold; which he desired him to present to the king's treasurer-general at St. Domingo, who had a great interest with the Spanish ministry.

At this time many Indians, under pretence of trafficking with the Spaniards, resorted to Darien to observe whether they were going away, or what were their designs; and to induce them to be gone, persuaded them that there was much gold and plenty of provisions in the province of Coyba, which was at 30 leagues distance. Upon this Nunez de Balboa sent Francis Pizarro with six men to discover the country; who having travelled three leagues up the river, were attacked by 400 Indians: but after a short engagement, in which about 100 of the Indians were killed, the rest were put to flight, and the Spaniards returned to Darien.

Nunez now sent two brigantines for the Spaniards who had been left at Nombre de Dios. These vessels sailing along the coast, reached a port belonging to the cacique of Coyba, where two Spaniards entirely naked and painted red came to them. These and another person had a year and a half before made their escape from Nicuesa's ship, to avoid the punishment due for some crime they had committed; and putting themselves into the hands of the cacique Careta, were kindly treated: but not agreeing among themselves, one of them, whose name was Juan Alonzo, dangerously wounded the other; whereupon the cacique admiring him for his bravery, made him commander of his forces, in a war in which he was then engaged, and would do nothing without his advice.

These two men were highly acceptable to those in the brigantines: they observed that the country abounded in gold; and that if Nunez would invade it, they should all obtain great riches. Upon this advice it was agreed, that one of them should go to Santa Maria, to inform Nunez of the state of the country,

country, and that the other should stay to be serviceable as occasion should offer.

When the brigantines returned to Santa Maria, Nunez was much pleased with the intelligence they brought of this rich country, at his having Spanish interpreters, who understood the language of the natives; and having sent back the brigantines, to bring away the rest of the Spaniards from Nombre de Dios, (as they had been unable to take them all before) he chose 130 of the bravest of his men, who on the return of the brigantines, set out with a sufficient supply of arms and provisions in search of the cacique Careta, who lived at 30 leagues distance.

This cacique not supplying them, Nunez took him and his family prisoners, and pillaged his town. But the cacique, to regain his liberty, promised all he required, and offered Nunez his daughter for a wife; who accepted her, kept her as a mistress, and grew very fond of her.

Careta soon after informed his guests, that he had a neighbour, whose name, as well as that of his country, was Comagre: that he lived in greater splendor than any other cacique, and was very desirous of being acquainted with the Spaniards. As the dominions of this prince were large and fruitful, Careta desired Nunez to pay him a visit, and offered to accompany him.

On their arrival at the palace of Comagre, they found that it was a large wooden building, 150 yards in length, and 80 in breadth, surrounded with a good stone wall. The reception they met with was equally kind and hospitable; Comagre and his sons discovering, in their conversation, a knowledge and politeness, much superior to any of the Indians they had hitherto met with.

Comagre's eldest son, being particularly desirous of obliging his guests, caused several pieces of gold, that were valuable both for their workmanship and fineness, to be brought; and this gold, which weighed

ed about 4000 pieces of eight; with 70 slaves, he gave to Nunez and Colmenares, who immediately began to weigh it, in order to set apart the fifth of the gold for the king, and to divide the rest among themselves: but some of the men quarrelling about the best and largest pieces, the young prince ran to the scales, and striking them with his double fist, threw all the gold upon the ground; saying, that they need not fall out about such a trifle: but if they were so fond of it as to disturb peaceable nations, and leave their native country to obtain it, he would shew them a province where they might have as much as their hearts could wish; but that there must be a greater number of them, as they were to oppose a monarch who defended his dominions with great bravery. This was the first intimation given them of the extensive country of Peru; whither he offered to accompany them.

After a short stay in the dominions of Comagre, Nunez de Balboa returned to his government of Santa Maria, in order to consider at his leisure of the properest means of making these important discoveries.

Valdivia had by this time returned from Hispaniola, with the strongest assurances, that Diego Columbus would give him sufficient support. This induced Nunez to send him over a second time; but the vessel, in attempting to sail back to Hispaniola, was unfortunately shipwrecked in her passage on the coast of Yucatan, and the men were quickly surrounded and made prisoners by the natives, who cruelly sacrificed them to their idols: two only escaping, one of whom was that Aguilar, who was of such great use to Cortes.

Nunez Balboa was greatly afflicted at the news of this event; and to prevent the ill consequence that might arise from it, had some thoughts of going to Spain: but this the colony would not suffer, and he had soon sufficient reason to believe that they judged right; for by the dispatches he received from Zamudio he was informed, that Enciso had so incensed the

the court against him, that there was no persuading the ministers, that he was not a villain, who had in the highest degree trampled upon the royal authority.

Nunez de Balboa, having considered the contents of these letters, plainly saw, that nothing could restore his character in Spain, but making immediate use of the informations he had received, by perfecting his discoveries of larger and richer countries than hitherto the Spaniards had been acquainted with. This he judged would cover all his past faults, and atone for every irregularity he had committed; and therefore, without communicating to the colony any of the particulars contained in his dispatches, he persuaded them to engage in such an expedition, as the most likely means of rendering them all rich and happy: upon which they gladly embraced this proposal.

On this plan they sailed from Santa Maria about the middle of September, 1513, as far as the territories of the cacique Careta, who received Nunez in a very friendly manner. He there left one of his brigantines and a canoe, and advanced toward the mountains belonging to Ponca, attended by a body of Careta's subjects. The cacique Ponca being soon informed of the approach of the Spaniards, hid himself; when Nunez sent some of the Indians belonging to Careta to assure him that he had nothing to fear, and that he only desired his friendship: upon which Ponca came to meet him with a present of gold, to the value of 110 pesos, which was all he had. Nunez being sensible of the necessity of leaving no enemy behind him, received the cacique with much joy; and gave him abundance of beads, hawk's-bells, looking-glasses; and what these Indians most valued, some iron axes: and then asked him for guides, and men to carry burdens up the mountains.

The cacique readily granted all he desired ; and having supplied him with plenty of provisions, the Spaniards marched into the dominions of the great lord named Quarequa, who was prepared to oppose them. The Indians met the Spaniards, asking what they came for, and ordering them to proceed no farther ; but observing that they paid little regard to what they said, the cacique himself came forward, cloathed in cotton, with some of his principal men, all the rest being entirely naked, and immediately attacked the Spaniards with dreadful cries. Nunez instantly ordered his soldiers to discharge their firelocks and cross-bows, upon which some dropped down dead : when the Indians seeing the fire, and hearing the report, naturally concluded that the Spaniards used thunder and lightning, and had a supernatural power to destroy them ; and therefore fled in the utmost consternation. The Spaniards pursued, setting their dogs upon them, which tore some of them in pieces, while the Spaniards made a great slaughter with their swords. In this engagement the cacique himself was killed, with about 600 of his people ; some were taken, and the town was plundered, in which the conquerors found a considerable quantity of gold.

As some of the Spaniards were now grown sickly with hunger and fatigue, Nunez left them in the town, which belonged to the late cacique, where he took fresh guides, and men to carry burdens, dismissing those who belonged to Careta. He then proceeded toward the top of the mountains, which was at the distance of about six days journey ; but in this progress he spent twenty-five, on account of the ruggedness of the way, and the difficulty of procuring provisions. At length Nunez having notice given him, that they were near the summit, he commanded his men to halt, and going up alone saw the South Sea ; which he no sooner viewed, than falling on his knees, he returned thanks to heaven for being the first

first who had seen it. This done, he called his men, and again falling on his knees, they followed his example, while the Indians stood amazed at seeing such expressions of joy and wonder. Nunez then extolled the intelligence given him by Comagre's son, promising his men wealth and happiness: they believed all he said; for he was extremely beloved, on account of his bravery, his compassion for the sick and wounded, and his making no difference between himself and the meanest soldier. He then caused a certificate to be drawn of his taking possession of that sea, and every thing in it, for the crown of Castile; in testimony of which he cut down timber, erected crosses, raised heaps of stones, and cut the king of Spain's name on some of the trees. This being done, he resolved to go down the mountains to the sea coast.

On their reaching the shore, the Spanish commander marched on, armed as he was, till the water took him up to the middle; and then caused a notary to draw up an instrument, importing that he had taken possession of that sea, its coasts, and the islands in it, in behalf of the crown of Castile; at which ceremony the Indians were very justly amazed.

Nunez Balboa at length observing a large bay of the sea, resolved to navigate it; and therefore desired the Indians to furnish him with canoes, which they did, and offered to accompany him, though they at the same time advised him to suspend this attempt, as the rains were coming on, and the bay was far from being safe; but he obstinately refused to comply with this advice, and embarked with fourscore Spaniards, together with Chiapes, a principal man among the Indians, and some of his attendants, on board nine canoes.

They weighed anchor on the 29th of September, for which reason he called it St. Michael's Bay; but when they were at some distance from the land, the waves began to swell so high, that Nunez repeated

he had not taken the advice given him by Chiapes, and was soon in the utmost danger of perishing : but the Indians had recourse to their usual remedy, and fastening two canoes together with cords, to prevent their being so easily overfet, made the best of their way toward an island, where they landed, and lashed their canoes to the rocks or trees. There they continued all the night in the utmost uneasiness ; for upon the flood the whole island was covered with water, and they were obliged to stand in it, almost up to their waists. When day appeared, and the water ebbed, they went in search of their canoes ; but found some of them beaten in pieces, others almost split, and the rest filled with water and sand, and no part of their goods or provisions were to be found. In this distress they pulled off the tender bark of the young trees, and bruising it with grass and other herbs, caulked the crannies of such of the canoes as were not staved, and thus embarked almost famished with hunger.

They now steered toward the dominions of a cacique named Tumaco, which lay in a creek of the bay, where they found him ready to oppose them. Nunez perceiving his men weak and hungry, no sooner landed, than he picked a few of the ablest of them, whom he placed in the front. The Spaniards began the engagement with their swords and dogs, with which they made great havock ; and Tumaco himself being wounded, the rest were obliged to retire. Soon after Chiapes sent some of his men to let Tumaco know the power of the Spaniards, and the kindness they shewed to those who were their friends. The cacique, however, could not be persuaded to believe their report ; but a second messenger prevailed so far, that he sent his son, whom Nunez entertained very courteously, giving him a shirt and some toys, and advising him to persuade his father to come himself, and have a share in his friendship. Upon which Tumaco went, attended by many of his subjects,

subjects but carried no present. However, Nunez treated him with much respect; and Chiapes observed to him, that he thought it but reasonable that he should assist the Spaniards on account of their being strangers.

The cacique being now pacified, and losing all his apprehensions, sent some of his servants home, who brought gold to the value of 614 pieces of eight; and what was much more extraordinary, 240 fine large pearls, with many others, that were bright, though small. At this sight, Nunez and his men were filled with joy; believing the immense treasures Comagre's son had mentioned were now at hand. The large pearls were of great value, and would have been of still greater, had not the Indians used fire in opening the oysters, which rendered them not so white as they naturally are. Tumaco observing that the pearls gave the Spaniards such joy, shewed that he himself set but little value on them, by sending some Indians to fish, who within four days brought as many as weighed no less than 96 ounces.

These two caciques assured Nunez, that there was a country in that bay, about five leagues from thence, governed by a powerful cacique, where there was abundance of large oysters, which contained pearls as big as beans. Upon which Nunez ordered the canoes to be immediately got ready; but the caciques entreated him not to think of such an expedition at that time, but to stay till summer, when the sea was calm, and he might go with ease, and then they promised to go with him. Nunez approving of this advice, Tumaco added, that the coast extended a prodigious way, pointing to Peru: that there was an immense quantity of gold; and that the natives used certain beasts to carry their burdens, which were the sheep of that country; he even made the representation of them in clay.

When Nunez returned to Santa Maria, which was about the middle of January, he judged, with great

appearance of reason, that the signal services he had performed, rendered it impossible for the ministers to deny that he had made amends for any indiscretions into which he had fallen. He therefore resolved to send another agent to Spain with the king's money, and with more considerable presents than it was in his power to send by the former : On this important message he sent Pedro Abolanchos, a person of capacity, and what was still of greater consequence, of unshaken integrity and fidelity.

On this person's arrival at court, he applied himself to the famous bishop of Burgos, who received his letters with civility ; which changed into the greatest kindness and friendship, upon his seeing the pearls and gold sent him by Nunez : for these fully convinced him of his innocence, and of his being a good and faithful officer. He therefore took great pains to vindicate him to king Ferdinand, who had hitherto a great aversion to Nunez de Balboa : but the favours of this prelate came too late ; for he himself had already done this unhappy man such an injury, as he was unable to repair. It was a maxim with this bishop, that nothing was so dangerous, as suffering the great men who made discoveries in America to perfect them ; and therefore, as soon as they had opened the road to the new countries, and had overcome the first, which are always the greatest difficulties, it was his constant method to send some of his own creatures to reap the fruits of their labours.

Before the arrival of Nunez's agent, he had chosen Pedro Arias d' Avila governor of Castillo del Oro ; whom the Spanish writers, by joining his two first names, commonly called Pedrarias. He was a man of birth, and of a court education ; but proud, haughty, insincere, barbarous and unjust ; cruel beyond expression : and one who thought the only compensation that could be made for leaving his native country, was his raising a vast fortune. We have his character drawn to the life, by the hand of the humane

mane and worthy bishop of Chiapa, who represents him as the wickedest monster that was ever sent into those parts.

This new governor sailed from Spain, on the 12th of April 1514, with a fleet of fifteen sail; on board of which were 2000 soldiers, a fryar, John de Quevedo, who, before his departure, had been consecrated bishop of Darien; with many other persons in great offices: among whom was Enciso, the mortal enemy of Nunez, who was Pedrarias's provost marshal. This fleet arrived in the gulph of Uraba, in the latter end of July, and from thence proceeded to Santa Maria, where the commander was received with all imaginary respect by Nunez de Balboa.

Pedrarias was very much surprized at the late governor's appearance, and at the state in which he found the colony. There was indeed a very strong fort, and 450 brave fellows to defend it; but Nunez's house consisted but of three rooms, and his dress corresponded with his dwelling: he had a pair of canvass drawers, and a cotton waistcoat over his shirt, and that was all. His diet was of a piece with the rest; for a joint of roast pork, some greens and fruit, were all his table afforded: at which no other liquor was drank than good spring water. Such were the manners of this conqueror, who fared no better than the meanest of his soldiers; but there was no murmuring, no complaints: he maintained his authority by the means he acquired it, that is, by his merit, while his soldiers loved and feared him as a father. His only fault was his ambition, that had led him to do some unwarrantable things, in order to obtain power; but when he had once acquired it, none used it better. His accounts were clear; he made good every point he had written to Spain, and proved that he had opened a passage to the South Seas: in return for which good services, Pedrarias committed him close prisoner to the custody of Enciso, and did not

set him at liberty, till he had fined him in above half his fortune.

In order to justify this proceeding, he sent over a very false report to the court of Spain, expecting that this would have procured him authority for going greater lengths; but he was mistaken. He had brought over some honest men with him, who ventured to send the naked truth to court, and it met with all the credit it deserved.

In answer to these representations, Pedrarias received fresh advices from his majesty, in which the king declared, that he was perfectly satisfied with the conduct of Nunez de Balboa, and had created him lord-lieutenant of the countries on the South Seas: that his majesty expected that the governor should take his advice; and that the measure of his obedience to his royal orders would appear from the respect he shewed to Nunez de Balboa. Pedrarias equally displeased and disappointed, took care to conceal his instructions; and, like a true courtier, resolved in appearance to conform to his master's orders, but in effect to disobey them, and to leave no means untried to procure the destruction of the man he hated.

In order to lessen the character of his predecessor and to raise his own, Pedrarias sent several of his officers to make excursions into the country, which he thought must produce new discoveries, as indeed they did; but these were neither to the advantage of the colony, nor to the crown of Spain, since they only contributed to shew the avarice and cruelty of the Spaniards in the most glaring light. His officers knew that the only method to obtain his favour and protection, was to make him large presents, and to plunder all the caciques without mercy; so that in a few months time, that reputation for honesty and kind usage, which Nunez de Balboa had been at some pains to establish, was entirely lost, and a war between

tween them and the natives broke out afresh with greater fury than ever; so that there were no great hopes of his making any progress: which when he came seriously to consider, he entered upon a new scheme; and by the assistance of bishop Quevedo became reconciled to Nunez, who very sincerely applied himself as formerly to the public service, and that with his usual success.

This, however, only served to raise the envy of Pedrarias, even though he had promised to give Nunez his daughter, and publicly called and treated him as his son. He had employed him in raising a town, establishing a fort, and building ships on the South Seas: all which, with incredible labour and fatigue, he at length accomplished; and this added to the great reputation he had before acquired. Pedrarias seeing this, and finding that most of the people in this government were inclined to remove, and settle in the town built by Nunez de Balboa, as soon as it should be finished; resolved no longer to delay removing out of the way a man, whose superiority became more and more conspicuous. For this purpose he sent for him to Santa Maria, and commenced a fresh prosecution against him, on the same pretences for which he had fined him before; to which he had added another very extraordinary accusation, a treasonable intention to usurp the king's domain, founded upon nothing more than his having cut down, without the governor's licence, some timber for erecting public edifices: and to the amazement of the colony, and the terror of the inhabitants, he upon this charge condemned him to suffer death; and actually caused this unfortunate gentleman to be publicly beheaded.

Such was the fate of Vasquez Nunez de Balboa, who in the 42d year of his age suffered as a traitor for having served his prince with too much zeal and fidelity. This happened in the year 1517, and in the third of Pedrarias's government. The royal audience at St. Domingo, however, condemned this

action as a downright murder; but Pedrarias does not seem to have been ever called to an account for it: but on the contrary was permitted to go on in the same base and barbarous track for many years together.

Having thus, at the expence of law and justice, freed himself from a man whom he at once both feared and hated, Pedrarias resolved to settle a colony on the coast of the South Seas, though that place, from the heat and moisture of the adjacent country, was very unwholesome; but it was a place commodious for trade, and very convenient for forming new discoveries. He there built a palace, and made it the seat of his government; which inducing others to chuse it for the place of their residence, it soon increased in the number of its inhabitants, and was pretty well fortified.

This city, which received the name of Panama, is but of small circumference, on account of a morass that incloses it on one side; and the damps, which arise from the morass, render the place so very unhealthy, that there are few inhabitants, except traders, who generally stay there no longer than is necessary to acquire a sufficient fortune to enable them to leave it. The rivers in its neighbourhood afforded great quantities of gold when the city was first built; but neither wheat nor barley grow within its neighbourhood: however it is supplied with maize from Peru. Both the rivers and the sea abound with fish; and near the houses along the coast are vast quantities of cockles, on which account the Spaniards suppose Pedrarias chose this spot, as they would be some supply in time of scarcity. In the rivers of this province are vast numbers of alligators of a monstrous size, which have devoured many of the Spaniards and Indians.

But to return; though Pedrarias had a strong desire to distinguish himself by doing something great, yet in the space of eight or nine years he did little

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or nothing; for his vices defeated his schemes, and rendered all his undertakings abortive. But by the grievous extortions he committed among the caciques who had submitted to the Spaniards, and with the gold he forced from them, he maintained so great an interest at court; that notwithstanding every enterprize in which he engaged was attended with loss, yet every new project he sent over was approved and applauded.

This was the more extraordinary, as no man ever met with more opposition than he did: for on the one hand, he was hated to the last degree by the Indians; for whose sake the bishop of Chiapa had the humanity to go in person to Madrid to solicit relief. The Spanish officers, who were uneasy under his government, sent home a true representation of his conduct; which was such as would have ruined the fortune of any other man. Beside all this, he was upon very bad terms with the royal audience at St. Domingo; which was then, what it still is, the supreme tribunal in the West Indies: and the chief reason for removing the seat of his government from Santa Maria to Panama, was that he might be farther out of their reach.

However, about the beginning of the year 1526, the court of Spain, wearied with continual complaints against him, was at length resolved to send him a successor. Pedrarias was informed of this resolution; and as he knew no means of avoiding his coming, and was very loth to part with his power, he began to cast about in his mind where to find another establishment. There was only one expedition under any of his creatures which had met with success; and that was the conquest of Nicaragua by Francis Hernandez, who acted under his licence; and the governor had also been at some expence in fitting him out. He resolved therefore to retire into this country, in order to secure it for himself, though it of
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right belonged to him who had subdued it; and also to avoid delivering up his province to his successor in person, for fear he should treat him as he himself had done Nunez. One would have imagined, that when his affairs were in such a situation, he would have abated somewhat of his pride, or at least of his cruelty: but whether he had no power over his temper, or knew that he had still interest enough at court to prevent his being called to an account for murder, he committed one more base and barbarous, if possible, than that of Nunez de Balboa.

On his entering the new province, he pretended that he had received information that his deputy intended to revolt; and therefore sent for him to answer to the charge. Francis Hernandez came with that boldness which is natural to innocence; but Pedrarias no sooner had him in his power, than he caused his head to be struck off; alledging that there was no other way for a government to be safe against persons in power, when their fidelity was once suspected. Yet as black and heinous as this fact was, he not only escaped being called to an account for it, but was confirmed in his government of Nicaragua; as if avarice, injustice and cruelty, were qualities chosen by the court of Spain in persons appointed to the management and prosecution of her concerns in America.

THE
Conquest of PERU,

BY
FRANCIS PIZARRO.

VASQUEZ Nunez de Balboa was the first Spaniard who formed the project of making discoveries on the South Sea; and the desire of wresting the execution out of his hands, the principal motive that induced Pedrarias to take away his life. But when all the expeditions undertaken by this cruel monster had failed, three persons in the year 1524 offered to engage in this undertaking at their own expence, provided they might be allowed fair and equitable terms. To this proposal Pedrarias readily listened, believing that he ran no hazard in complying with their request, since if they miscarried he should lose nothing; and if they succeeded, he hoped that he should be able to secure to himself the fruits of their enterprize.

The principal of these three persons was Francis Pizarro, a native of Truxillo, in the province of Estremadura in Spain. Some of the Spanish writers say, he was a nobleman by birth; while others maintain, that he was the illegitimate son of Gonzalo Pizarro, an officer at Truxillo, who suffered him to be exposed as a foundling at a church-door. However, being discovered to be the father, he was obliged to support

support him; but giving him no manner of education, he made him spend his youth in the most servile offices, particularly in keeping his hogs. Young Pizarro, however, at length ran away from the herd; and entering on board a ship, bound to the West Indies, he distinguished himself by his bold and enterprising disposition in the wars of Hispaniola and Cuba, and obtained a commission. He at length sailed with Ojeda to the gulph of Darien, and afterward served under Nunez de Balboa; and having acquired a handsome fortune, had, on the first building of Panama, settled in that city; where he seemed disposed to spend the remainder of his life in peace, till the thirst of gold incited him to engage in this undertaking, and afterward prompted him to commit actions that rendered him a disgrace to human nature.

The second of these adventurers was Diego de Almagro, who took his name from the place of his birth: for his origin was so obscure, that no historian has been able to discover who was his father.

The third was Ferdinando de Luques, or as he is sometimes called de Lugne; who, as well as both the former, was advanced in years. This man, who was a priest, had much the largest fortune: he was proprietor of the island Tabago, had a good estate beside, and a considerable sum in ready money.

This association made much noise, as nothing could be more singular than for three private men to raise a joint stock for conquering a great empire; and, like other projects, was treated as a wild and visionary scheme, that would infallibly end in the ruin of the projectors. But without regarding the opinions of the world, they solemnly promised each other, that no dangers or disappointments should make them lay aside their enterprize; and that they would make an equal division of the wealth they should acquire, after having first deducted the emperor's dues and all expences. To each of them was assigned a particular

lar part in the conquest of Peru : Francis Pizarro was to command the party that went upon the discovery ; Almagro was to carry him recruits, and to reinforce him from time to time ; and Ferdinand de Luques was to stay at Panama, to provide ammunition and provisions for the use of those engaged in the expedition.

These articles being agreed upon, they repaired solemnly to high mass, which was celebrated by the priest Ferdinando de Luques ; who having broke the wafer into three pieces, took the first himself, and gave the others to his companions, as a token that they would pursue their present project with no less eagerness, than if their eternal happiness depended upon it. They took care to make the best inquiries they could into the causes of all former miscarriages, in order the better to avoid them ; and were very assiduous in finding out persons who had been employed in the preceding expeditions, that they might reap the benefit of their experience.

About the middle of November 1524, Pizarro embarked in a new ship with 114 men, officers included, and proceeded to the island of Tabago, about five leagues distant from Panama ; whence he sailed to the Pearl Islands in the midst of the bay, where he took in wood and water, with hay for four horses he had on board. He then proceeding 100 leagues to the southward, landed at Port Pinas, upon the continent, on the south side of the bay of Panama. Here he endeavoured to penetrate into the country ; but the people having fled from their habitations, and meeting with nothing but bogs and mountains, without any prospect of provisions, he proceeded farther down the coast ; but finding there the same inconveniences, and perceiving the rainy season coming on, and that many of his men died by sickness, fatigue, and want of provisions, he sent the ship to the Isle of Pearls, to procure fresh supplies.

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Mean while Pizarro was joined by Almagro with two ships and 60 recruits, when notwithstanding the unhealthiness of the climate they continued on the coast, and had many skirmishes with the natives; in one of which Almagro lost an eye: but happening in some of these excursions to meet with gold to the value of 14 or 15000 crowns, they resolved, in spite of all the hazards and difficulties they encountered, to proceed on the enterprize. To this they were encouraged by their pilot, who, while they were on shore, had run down as far as Cape Passare, under the equator, where he seized some prisoners, who made him sensible that the treasures of Peru greatly surpassed whatever had been reported of them.

When the pilot returned with this agreeable news, he found Pizarro greatly reduced; his money being exhausted, his men sick, and Almagro gone to Panama with the gold they had taken, to procure another reinforcement of troops and provisions.

Almagro raised 40 recruits, and having purchased some horses, arms, clothes, provisions and medicines, returned to Pizarro, where the greatest part of his men being sick or dead, they removed from that unhealthy part of the continent to the island of Gallo. Having staid about 15 days here, they ran still further to the southward; but found the weather continue so bad, and the country so much under water, that Pizarro himself began to despair of success; and so hot was the dispute about continuing the enterprize, that the two commanders were on the point of drawing their swords: but at length it was agreed, that they should return to the island of Gallo, where Pizarro was to remain with his men, till Almagro went to Panama for recruits. Many of the soldiers desired to go with him; but this was absolutely refused: and as several of the soldiers had threatened to complain to the governor, that sending them on this expedition was devoting them to destruction,
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great care was taken to prevent their sending any letters. However, one of them found means to send a paper subscribed by most of them, representing their hardships, and desiring to be recalled; which was so artfully inclosed in a bottom of cotton yarn, that it escaped the vigilance of the officers, and came safely to the hands of the new governor, (for Pedrarias was now removed from his government, and was succeeded by Pedro los Rios) who was so far from suffering Almagro to raise more recruits, that he sent a ship with a commissary to the island of Gallo to bring back all the men who survived.

The arrival of this ship greatly mortified Pizarro, who intreated the commissary to allow such of the men to stay with him as voluntarily chose it; which being granted, he drew a line with the point of his sword, and haranguing his men, told them they were all at liberty, if they thought fit, to return to Panama: but he was grieved at the thought of their now abandoning so glorious a prospect, when they were on the point of reaping the reward of all their sufferings. That for his part, he would perish in the glorious undertaking rather than desert it; and those who voluntarily staid, should share with him the treasures which fell into his hands. He then desired those who were willing to proceed, to come over the line he had drawn. But so great were the sufferings of these poor people, that only thirteen men and a mulatto came over, while the rest embarking with the commissary returned to Panama.

Pizarro's affairs were now in a most wretched situation; for he was not only deprived of the hopes of performing any thing remarkable at present, but had a very indifferent prospect with respect to futurity. In this distress, which he concealed in his own breast, he retired with a few daring fellows, who resolved to follow his desperate fortune, to the island of Gorgona for a supply of water, and staid there till he was joined by Almagro with a few volunteers, whom

he had with some difficulty persuaded to engage in this expedition.

With these men they left Gorgona, and sailed along the coast till they found themselves in 30° south latitude, having spent about two years in a voyage which, now the current and trade-winds are known, is performed in as many weeks. In this passage, however, they took several Indian vessels of considerable value, and obtained such intelligence of the wealth of the coast, that Pizarro resolved to send Pedro de Candia, a man of good sense and agreeable address, to penetrate as far as he could into Tumbez, in order to learn whether the informations he had received were true.

Pedro rendered himself agreeable to the Indians, and by his good conduct was enabled to execute his commission in the compleatest manner. He returned safe to Pizarro; assured him that the country exceeded all imagination; that the wealth and splendour of the people, and the grandeur of their public edifices were incredible; and that great art and skill were visible in these structures, which were so rich, that the very walls were covered with gold and silver.

Upon this report Pizarro called a council of his people; when, after much deliberation, it was resolved to return to Panama, where being enabled to give an account of the prodigious advantages to be reaped from an expedition made in a proper manner to Peru, it was to be hoped they should find people who were willing to embark in such an advantageous undertaking, and obtain such supplies as would insure their success.

However, sailing a few leagues farther along the coast, they made Payta, to which Pizarro gave the name of Santa Cruz; and finding this one of the best harbours they had observed on the coast of Peru, they cast anchor; and going ashore, found the natives extremely civil, and willing to take the trifles they had to give them, in exchange for provisions. They weighed

weighed from this place, leaving a Spaniard named Alphonso de Molina, who had separated from them on shore; but who soon after returning, came on board in one of the floats of that country, and told them that he had been entertained with great civility by a woman of distinction, who was very desirous of seeing the ship. Soon after the same woman sent other floats to pilot them into a safe part of the harbour; upon which Pizarro sent Molina, with three other gentlemen, to invite this Peruvian lady on board; and she coming, he treated her in the most elegant manner his circumstances would admit. In return she invited Pizarro on shore; and the next morning, at his landing, received him with a great retinue, and conducted him and his attendants to an arbour; where she entertained him at dinner, and afterward with several Indian diversions.

The Spaniards returning on board, sailed back for Panama, where he arrived toward the end of the year 1527, with several large pieces of gold, three Indian boys whom he intended to educate for interpreters, and some Peruvian sheep. Those who had before ridiculed this expedition as absurd and ruinous, now confessed their error, and were desirous of partaking of its advantages: but Pizarro being opposed by the governor, who refused to allow his levying more men, and finding it necessary that he should be supported by an authority superior to his own; he, with the consent of his partners, embarked for Old Spain to solicit the emperor's protection, and such powers as were necessary for the prosecution of their schemes.

Arriving without any remarkable accident at Seville, Pizarro proceeded to the court of the emperor Charles V. where he met with a very gracious reception, on his presenting his majesty with some Peruvians in their proper habits, several gold and silver vessels of the fashion of the country, and two or three Peruvian sheep. The emperor took great pleasure

in hearing him relate the difficulties he had met with in his search for Peru, and referred him to the council of the Indies; who ordered him to proceed in the conquest of that empire, as far as 200 leagues to the southward of Tumbez, which is at the bottom of the bay of Guiaquil. He also obtained the titles of governor and captain-general, with the offices of adelantado, or lieutenant, and of alguazil-major or chief justice of Peru. This was directly contrary to his agreement with his partners; he having promised to obtain the second of these titles for Almagro, and the last for his pilot, who had served him with great fidelity and skill. However, he obtained for Ferdinando de Luques the title of protector-general of the Peruvians, with the emperor's promise of recommending him to the Pope, to be made bishop of Tumbez; of which place Almagro was however nominated governor, with the title of Don; his bastard son was legitimated; beside, of the 13 men who remained with Pizarro in his distress on the island of Gallo, those who were gentlemen, had the honour of knighthood, and such as were not, were raised to the rank of gentlemen. These commissions were granted at Toledo on the 26th of July 1528; and six Dominican friars were ordered to go over with Pizarro, as missionaries to assist in the conversion of the Peruvians: but though the emperor hoped to obtain considerable advantages from this expedition, he did not advance a single piece of money for the service.

Pizarro having thus settled the affairs which brought him to Spain, paid a visit to Truxillo, the place of his birth, where he found that his father had been many years married to a woman of a good family, and had three sons grown up to a man's estate, Ferdinand, Gonzalo, and Juan; and that his mother had been married to a farmer, by whom she had a son named Francis Martin de Alcantara: these entered into his service, and being greatly beloved in the neighbourhood, made great dispatch in providing whatever he wanted.

wanted. He embarked with them at Seville in the month of January 1530, and safely arrived at Nombre de Dios, on the coast of Terra Firma, from whence he marched with his people over land to the city of Panama; where Almagro was so disgusted at his having engrossed all the honour and authority to himself, that he refused to assist him in the intended expedition, till Pizarro promised to relinquish the title of adelantado, and to give him an equal share in whatever they should acquire. Upon which concessions, Almagro agreed to assist him as formerly; but though he, for the present, smothered his resentment, he never heartily forgave him.

Three ships being prepared at Panama, on board of which were 125 soldiers, 37 horses, with arms, ammunition, and stores, Pizarro set sail from thence; but meeting with contrary winds, he found it impossible to keep the sea, with his horses on board, and therefore came to an anchor above 100 leagues to the northward of Tumbez, at a place which he called St. Matthew's Bay. He had here the inhumanity to attack the natives without the least provocation, and to make many of them prisoners, when the rest flying up into the country, he plundered their towns, in which he found immense treasures: for these people being honest themselves had no suspicion of the Spaniards, and therefore took no care of hiding any thing from them.

By this cruel conduct Pizarro soon became distressed for want of provision, and losing many of his men by sickness and hardships, he too late perceived his error, in not courting the friendship of the natives: and being in no condition to make a conquest of Peru with the forces he had left, sent back his ships to Panama to raise more recruits. He also sent to the same place 30,000 pesos in gold, with a great number of emeralds.

In the mean time Almagro sending Pizarro a considerable reinforcement from Panama, and Ferdinand

de Soto, and other adventurers, also arriving with troops from Nicaragua, he thought himself in a condition to carry on the war upon the continent; especially as he had some reason to expect that he should be supported by the Tumbezenes. Accordingly, having provided a sufficient number of floats, he transported his troops to Tumbes; but lost some of his men on his landing, some floats being overset by the surf which beat upon the shore; and to his great surprize, several of his people were attacked and cut off by his supposed friends.

The Spanish writers have given different reasons for this behaviour in the Tumbezenes: But whatever were the motives of their opposing the descent of these strangers, they were thrown into such confusion by the Spanish horse and artillery, that they fled as the Spaniards advanced; and after several thousands of them had been slaughtered, were forced to abandon not only the city and castle, but even the whole valley of Tumbes, and to leave behind them all their gold and silver, and other rich spoils which lay heaped up in the temple of the sun and the inca's palace. These were of such immense value, that the Spaniards could scarcely believe their eyes, on their finding them so suddenly in their possession: and so great was the consternation of the inca Atabaliba and his whole court, when the fugitives related the slaughter made by the thunderers, and the impossibility of escaping the Spanish horses; that they concluded, if the Spaniards were not gods, as they at first conjectured, they were certainly devils; and that it was impossible for any human force to oppose them.

Pizarro soon received intelligence of the terror he had spread through the inca's court, of which he resolved to take advantage as soon as possible. He, however, thought proper to defer his march, till he had erected a slight fortress, that might serve him as a place of retreat and security, and in which the recruits he expected might be quartered. He accordingly built one upon the sea-coast, and gave it the name

name of St. Michael; this was performed in the year 1531, and was the first Spanish colony planted in Peru.

By this establishment he plainly discovered his intention to remain in the country, which it was evident he could not do but by force; and therefore the news of his erecting a fortified town, and compelling the Indians who lived near it to obey not only him, but the meanest of the Spaniards, soon spread through the whole empire, and engaged the two brothers, who were contending for the throne, to turn their eyes upon those who might soon have the empire at their disposal. As the disputes between these two brothers proved the chief cause that brought this great empire under subjection to the Spaniards, some account of the affairs of Peru is previously necessary to render the transactions of the Spaniards intelligible: the latter being inseparable from the former.

The inca or emperor Guayanacapa was a prince who distinguished himself by his many virtues; but being ambitious, and generally successful in war, made several considerable additions to his dominions, and in particular subdued the province of Quito. To confirm his high title to this province, he married the daughter of the late sovereign, and by her had a son called Atahualpa or Atabaliba, to whom at his death he bequeathed the crown of Quito, on account of its being independent of the dominions of the incas, and its descending to him in right of his mother. But Huescar, Guayanacapa's eldest son, who succeeded to his father's hereditary dominions, insisted upon Atabaliba's surrendering the kingdom of Quito, promising, in return, to give him a share of his father's treasures, and to assign him lands for his subsistence. Atabaliba refused to consent to this proposal; but offered to pay homage to his brother Huescar for the crown.

Both parties had recourse to arms in consequence of this dispute; and a general engagement ensued

which lasted for three days, and was as bloody as it was obstinate. At length the forces of Atabaliba were defeated, and he himself taken prisoner; but while the guards were busy with in the rejoicings and festivals which followed the victory, he found means to break a hole through the wall of the house wherein he was confined, by which he made his escape; and returned to his own subjects, whom he found dispirited by their last defeat. He, however, soon revived their courage, by assuring them that his father had appeared to him in prison, and by changing him into a serpent, had given him an opportunity of sliding through a little hole in the wall.

This story instantly spread through the whole empire: The people in general took up arms in his defence, and he had soon a much larger body of forces than ever. He now defeated two or three armies that opposed him, levelled with the ground the place where he had been imprisoned; and on his arrival at Tumbes attempted to make himself master of the island of Puna, but without success: when, leaving that island, he marched with all his forces to give Huescar battle, who was advancing toward him with a prodigious army, Atabaliba hearing of his approach, sent two of his best officers with 3 or 4000 light armed troops to observe his brother's strength; who, on their drawing near to Huescar's camp, struck out of the high road to avoid being discovered. Huescar, at this very instant, with some of his chief courtiers and principal officers, had retired into the same bye road to shun the noise and bustle of his army; when Atabaliba's men observing the royal standard, laid hold of this opportunity of putting a speedy end to the war; and immediately attacking Huescar, defeated his guards and made him prisoner.

These victors were, however, soon in as much danger as the vanquished; for Huescar's army being informed of what had passed, surrounded this handful of men, and threatened to cut them instantly in pieces.

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In this extremity they told Huefcar, that if he did not immediately order his army to retire, they would cut off his head, after which they were determined to die upon the spot. At the same time they observed, that he need be under no apprehension from his confinement, since all Atabaliba required, was the permission to enjoy his own kingdom of Quito, which being secured to him, he was too generous to detain him. On this Huefcar ordered his principal officers to draw off their forces to Cuzco, where the incas kept their court; and this command was immediately obeyed.

When Pizarro entered Peru, things were in the situation above described. He was first solicited to assist Huefcar; but answered in general terms that he was on his march to assist the distressed, and see justice impartially administered. He was afterwards honoured with a solemn embassy from Atabaliba, to desire his alliance and friendship. Upon which he immediately resolved to visit that prince at Caxamalca, where he then was.

The Spaniards were soon after met by other ambassadors, who came to compliment Pizarro, and to present him, in the name of the inca, with a pair of gold buskins richly ornamented, and bracelets of the same metal, set with emeralds, which he was desired to put on, at his obtaining an audience of Atabaliba; who by seeing his own presents, would easily know him. These ambassadors also made him several other valuable presents, and brought with them great plenty of provisions, which were much wanted by the army.

The chief personage of this embassy was of the race of the incas, and behaved with great politeness; which the Spaniards attributed to fear, in which they were certainly right, though they did not stand in awe of them so much on account of their arms, as from a religious motive; for they superstitiously imagined that the Spaniards were the descendants of the sun. They had an old tradition, which had been universally received,

ceived, that the elder son of one of their incas, who had lived many ages before, had seen a strange kind of phantom who called himself Virachoca, or offspring of the sun. His dress and appearance were intirely different from that of the Peruvians, who have no beard, and whose cloaths reach no lower than their knees; but this phantom had a long beard, a garment of a very unusual make, which reached down to his feet, and he led in his hand an animal that was absolutely unknown to the young prince. This fable was so universally believed, and so firmly rooted in the minds of the Peruvians, that they no sooner saw a Spaniard with a beard, his legs covered, and holding his horse by the bridle, than they cried out, *See, there is the inca Virachoca, or the son of the sun.* This opinion, joined to the dissensions between the two brothers, greatly facilitated Pizarro's conquests.

The Spaniards on their arrival at Caxamalca, found that Atabaliba had retired to a place at a small distance. Upon which the general sent his brother Ferdinand Pizarro and Ferdinand Soto in quality of ambassadors.

They were received with very great ceremony, and immediately introduced into the royal presence, which struck the Spaniards with joy and reverence; for not only the inca, but all who were with him, glittered with gold and jewels.

When the Spaniards approached Atabaliba, who was seated in a chair of massy gold, they saluted him in the Spanish fashion, with which appearing well pleased, he arose and embraced them: and a golden chair being brought for each, they sat and were served by two beautiful princesses, in vessels of gold set with emeralds. They had afterward a collation of fruit, which being over, Ferdinand Pizarro, by means of a wretched interpreter brought from Puna, made a long speech, in which he told the inca, that Francis Pizarro, a famous general, was come as ambassador from the high priest of the Christian church, and from Charles

Charles V. the most potent emperor upon earth, to deliver him and his subjects from the tyranny of the devil, and to point out to him the right road to heaven. To this the inca, they supposed, made a pathetic reply, as he drew tears from the eyes of those who understood him; and he concluded with telling them, that he would come the following day to hold a personal conference with their general. They could collect but little from his discourse, and from the absurd manner, in which their interpreter explained what the inca had said, they had reason to believe that he had received a very imperfect explanation of Ferdinand Pizarro's oration.

Being informed of this intended visit, Pizarro divided his cavalry, which amounted to 60 men, into three troops of 20 each, and posted them behind an old wall, that their sudden appearance might have the greater effect; and having put himself at the head of his infantry, which amounted to only 100 men, waited for the coming of Atabaliba, who advanced in regular order with his army, which was divided into four battalions consisting of 8000 men each; and as soon as they drew near, the inca addressing himself to his officers, said, "These people are messengers of the gods, let us be seen to do nothing to offend them; but on the contrary use our utmost endeavours to gain them by civilities."

As he approached, father Vincent de Valverde advanced from the Spaniards, carrying in one hand a cross, and in the other his breviary. At his appearance, the inca seemed much surprised, but received him with great respect, and ordered a chair for him, when the father began a long discourse which was translated by the above wretched interpreter, while the inca listened very attentively to his harangue, in which he gave an account of the mysteries of the Christian faith, the power of the pope, St. Peter's successor, and the universal monarchy of the emperor Charles V. to which it was necessary that the inca should

should submit, for otherwise God would harden his heart as he did Pharoah's, and then the Spaniards were to inflict upon him all the plagues of Egypt.

To the inca, who had never heard of these subjects, this dissertation must have had all the appearance of nonsense; and was rendered still more ridiculous by being delivered through a channel so despicable and barbarous as Pizarro's interpreter. However, the inca made some sort of reply, which was interpreted so badly, that the priest knew no more of the emperor's meaning, than the emperor did of his. Thus a scene of confusion immediately ensued, which was increased by a tumult caused by some Spaniards, who observing an Indian idol upon a tower, richly adorned with gold, silver, and precious stones, their avarice would not suffer them to wait longer, and therefore they fell to plundering it. They were at first opposed by the Indians, till the inca, whose command was to them equal to a divine law, cried out, That they should do nothing to offend the children of the sun.

Father Vincent hearing the noise of this tumult, turned about, and dropping his cross and breviary, ran in haste to appease it, when some of the perfidious Spaniards perceiving the cross trampled under foot, cried out, "An insult on Christianity," and instantly falling upon the Indians, committed a most dreadful slaughter; and the horse suddenly appearing, bore down all before them; the poor Indians falling tame sacrifices to their treachery, without making the least resistance. Francis Pizarro at this instant putting himself at the head of the horse, advanced in person to seize Atabaliba, and laying hold of his robe, dragged the inca from the chariot in which he sat on the shoulders of his attendants. At which instant, one of the Spaniards attempting to strike the emperor with his sword, wounded Pizarro, which was all the Spanish blood spilt at this scene of cool, merciless slaughter. About 5000 Indians were inhumanly mas-

massacred, without attempting to use the weapons they held in their hands; for they thought every command of the inca a part of their religion, and of the divine law, though it was attended with the loss of their lives. Their principal attention was fixed upon their prince, and many of them died, while eagerly endeavouring to support his chariot, to which the inca clung, while the cruel and treacherous Pizarro dragged him from it. This happened on the 3d of May 1533, a day kept sacred by the Romish church, in honour of finding the cross of Christ, after its having been many years buried.

When this horrid scene was over, Pizarro caused the inca to be conveyed to his own quarters, and directed that the spoils of the field should be brought before him, which consisted of large gold and silver vessels, fine garments, jewels and ornaments, belonging to the inca, the royal family, and great officers. There were also taken many of the women of quality, and some of the consecrated virgins. That very day Pizarro impiously directed, that thanksgivings to God should be offered upon the very spot where the earth was covered with the dead bodies of the poor Peruvians thus inhumanly murdered and plundered.

The next day Pizarro sent a detachment of his forces to plunder the inca's camp; where he met with an immense quantity of riches, though the Peruvian generals are said to have removed 3000 loads of gold and silver before the Spaniards arrived there. To induce the Indians not to carry off or conceal any more of their treasures, Pizarro caused it to be proclaimed, that the inca was alive, and that they were at liberty to come and wait upon him as usual. Upon which many of the generals and great officers returned to Caxamalca to attend their captive sovereign. He also caused the inca's women to be brought to him, and suffered him to be served in the same manner as before his misfortunes, though he kept him in fetters;

at which the inca could not forbear sometimes shewing his resentment.

Atabaliba, still anxious for his liberty, and observing the insatiable thirst of the Spaniards after gold and silver, made them an offer of filling a large room in the castle of Caxamalca with these metals, as high as an ordinary man could reach his hand: a proposal which amazed the Spaniards, and which they gladly accepted. For this purpose he desired that some Spanish officers might be sent with his own people to Cuzco, and other cities, to fetch the treasures deposited there; and at the same time issued his orders, that the Spaniards who were dispatched to those places should be hospitably entertained in the countries through which they passed, and receive all the assistance his subjects could give them.

Almagro, in the mean while, having enlisted 150 men at Panama, had embarked with them for Peru, in order to reinforce Pizarro, but had been obliged by contrary winds to land at Cape Francisco, where he was joined by another party of the Spaniards, who were going to share Pizarro's fortune. His whole body now amounted to between 2 and 300; but having lost by sickness and fatigue 30 or 40 of his men, he at length arrived at the Spanish colony of St. Michael's, where he was informed that Pizarro had made the emperor Atabaliba prisoner, and had taken possession of a vast treasure. Fearing that he would refuse him his dividend, he consulted his officers, whether they should not proceed in quest of some new discovery independently of Pizarro: but a faithful account of this deliberation being privately dispatched to Pizarro, by Almagro's secretary, he immediately sent several very obliging messages to Almagro to assure him of his integrity, and to invite him to join him: at the same time he let him know, that there were some people who endeavoured to sow divisions between them, and intreated him to be on his

his guard; as that might end in the ruin of one or both of them, as well as the destruction of their enterprize. To support this advice, he sent him the letter he had received from the secretary, which Almagro no sooner saw, than he caused him to be hanged.

Atabaliba's solicitude about his liberty, was much increased by the report of Almagro's arrival: for he wisely judged, that the insolence of the Spaniards would be augmented in proportion to their strength. He therefore hastened the bringing in the treasure he had offered for his ransom, that he might obtain his liberty before Pizarro was joined by Almagro. But another accident happened about the same time, which he apprehended might prove still more fatal to him; for the Spanish officers who were sent with his people to Cuzco, happening to pass through the town, where Huescar his brother was confined in prison, went to see him, and told him what Atabaliba had offered for his ransom. That prince replied, that he had been unjustly deposed by his brother, who had no right either to the empire or the treasures he had promised; and that as he had heard one principal design of their coming was to relieve the distressed, he did not doubt but they would release him from his captivity, and restore him to his throne, which he should not only gratefully acknowledge, but would give them more treasure than it was in the usurper's power to bestow: for his loyal subjects having buried most of their gold and silver on his being made prisoner, would readily produce it again, and pay it for his ransom.

Pizarro's messengers listened to his overtures, and promised the inca that justice should be done him; but, however, left that prince in prison, and continued their journey to Cuzco. Mean while Atabaliba, being informed of these overtures, resolved to put his brother to death: but reflecting that the Spaniards might make this a pretence for taking away his
own

own life, he resolved to sound Pizarro's inclination upon the subject; which he did by informing him, with the appearance of much affection and concern, that his brother had been murdered. But finding that Pizarro was not at all moved at this news, and only replied, that this was the fortune of war, and that the lives of captives were at the conqueror's disposal, he dispatched an express for putting Huescar to death; and his orders were immediately executed.

No sooner was the murder of Huescar known, than the Peruvians made great lamentations, and cried to heaven for vengeance on his murderers. It is even said, that some desired the Spaniards to revenge it. Mean while the officers who were sent to Cuzco were, on their arrival there, adored by the people as the true descendants of the sun: but they soon perceived that they ought to deduce their original from a baser fountain. They were afflicted to find that so profligate a race of men, who trampled upon every thing they held sacred, and whose avarice seemed to exceed all bounds, should become the masters of their country: and from that time they meditated how they might throw off the intolerable yoke they perceived the Spaniards were about to lay upon them. They durst not, however, disobey the commands of Atabaliba, but having amassed a considerable quantity of treasure, they sent it to Caxamalca.

Pizarro being informed that great riches were lodged in the temple of the Invisible God, he dispatched his three brothers thither with the Peruvian officers deputed by Atabaliba: but the priests being informed, that some of their temples had been ruined by the Spaniards, endeavoured to prevent their suffering the like misfortune, by sending away 400 carriers loaded with gold, silver, and jewels, before the Spaniards arrived, which were either buried in the earth, or carried to such a distance that the Spaniards could never discover them. Ferdinand Pizarro, however, found as much plate in this temple as amounted to

9000 crowns, beside what was embezzled by the foldiers.

By this time Almagro was advanced into the neighbourhood of Caxamalca, Pizarro going out to meet him, received him with all possible marks of affection and esteem, and offered him such a share in the spoils as made him perfectly easy. But his foldiers, who expected to divide the booty with those who had served under Pizarro, were ready to mutiny on their being told, that they were intitled to no part of it. They were however soon appeased by Pizarro agreeing to distribute 100,000 ducats among them. The rest of the plunder, after the emperor's fifth was deducted, was divided by Pizarro among his officers and foldiers; and it is said, that after he had reserved the inca's golden chair for his own use, he distributed as much gold and silver plate among the foldiers, as amounted to above 1,500,000 crowns; which, considering the value of gold and silver at that time, was more than 15,000,000 of crowns now. But as large as this sum appears in round numbers, it will yet be found more extraordinary and surprizing, if we consider among how small a number of men it was divided. It appears from good memoirs, that upon this division, each horseman had to his share near 2000 ounces of gold, and the meanest soldier the value of 2000 l. sterling.

Ferdinand Pizarro was now chosen as the fittest person to go to Europe, and wait on the emperor Charles V. with his share of the treasure; when about 60 of the private men insisted upon their discharge, that they might go home, and peaceably enjoy the wealth they had obtained. This was violently opposed by Almagro, and most of the council: however, Francis Pizarro over-ruled this opposition, by observing that nothing could be more political than allowing them to return home; for as the meanest soldier would depart so very rich, they might be certain of gaining ten men for every one they lost.

Before his departure, Ferdinand Pizarro went to take his leave of Atabaliba, with whom he was in greater esteem than any of the Spanish officers. The emperor therefore was much concerned at his departure, and said, "My Lord, you are going home, which is certainly matter of joy to you, though it fills me with grief; for I already apprehend that before your return, the man with one eye, (meaning Almagro,) and the other with the great belly, (which was the king's treasurer,) will put an end to my life: let us then take our last farewell."

Nor was his conjecture ill founded, for the Spaniards, who had been sent for the rest of Atabaliba's ransom, making a report of the prodigious quantities of the gold they had brought, and the reasons they had for believing that much greater were concealed, Almagro gave it as his opinion, that they should wait no longer, but dispatch the inca, and then make as much haste as possible to get into their possession all the gold in Peru. A cruel resolution, which, though Francis Pizarro at first seemed to reject with horror, he afterward gave it his approbation, on account of his being treated with some degree of contempt by Atabaliba, and his giving a visible preference to other officers in the Spanish army; the reason of which is very singular, and cannot fail of giving pleasure to the judicious reader.

Atabaliba was a prince of great penetration, and therefore laboured to obtain as perfect a knowledge as possible of the manners, customs, and abilities of the Spaniards, in order that he might be the better able to deal with them, if, upon the payment of the sum proposed for his ransom, they should actually restore him to liberty. What particularly puzzled him, and seemed most unaccountable, was their having the art of writing and reading, he not being able to comprehend whether it was a natural endowment, or was acquired by labour and application. In order to obtain satisfaction, he asked one of the Spanish soldiers, whether

whether he could express the name of God upon his thumb-nail? the man readily answered that he could; and accordingly wrote it; after which the inca went to several of the captains and soldiers, and shewing them his thumb-nail, asked if they knew what that mark signified? and from their answers, began to entertain an opinion, that reading and writing were natural to the nation. Francis Pizarro falling in his way, he asked him the same question; but he, who was neither able to read or write, blushed, and turned away without resolving the question; which not only changed Atabaliba's opinion, with respect to these accomplishments, which he now plainly saw were the fruits of education; but gave him a very low opinion of the general, whose original he was persuaded must have been but mean, since he was in this respect exceeded in knowledge by the poorest of his soldiers.

His contempt for Pizarro, however, laid the foundation of his ruin; which was completed by the villany of the wretched interpreter already mentioned; who falling in love with one of Atabaliba's wives, that monarch was so incensed, that he let Pizarro know, that the fellow deserved to be put to death, which the general turned into jest. Upon this the interpreter resolved to be revenged, and accused the inca of contriving the destruction of the Spaniards; when the general ordered that this wild and ridiculous story should be digested into a formal accusation. Commissioners were appointed to try Atabaliba; and the following charge was with great formality brought against him: That the late inca being his eldest brother and lawful sovereign, and himself a bastard, he had caused him to be deposed and imprisoned, and afterwards usurped his throne: that he had caused his said brother to be murdered: that Atabaliba was an idolater: that he caused his subjects to sacrifice men and children: that he had raised unjust wars, and been guilty of the blood of many people: that he kept a great many concubines: that he had exacted

taxes and tribute of the Peruvians, since the Spaniards were become in possession of his country, and had even consumed and embezzled the public treasure; and that he had incited the Indians to rebel and make war against the Spaniards since he had been their prisoner.

Upon these absurd and ridiculous articles, this sovereign prince was tried, in the midst of his own dominions, by the invaders of his country: and what still adds to the absurdity, he was tried, not by the laws of Peru, or by the law of nations established by any country; but by those of Spain; and being found guilty, was condemned to be burnt alive. It ought however to be observed, in justice to the rest of the Spaniards, that almost all the principal persons in the army declared against this vile proceeding, and even delivered a protest in writing against it.

Father Vincent, after being concerned in this mock shew of justice, undertook the inca's conversion; and the argument he used to induce him to be baptized, was worthy of such a preacher. He promised, that if he would die a Christian, instead of being burned, he should be only strangled, which had the desired effect; and to the eternal dishonour of all who were concerned in this iniquitous proceeding, he was baptized in the evening, and strangled the next morning.

The events that followed the death of the Inca Atabaliba, plainly shew that human nature is the same in all countries and climates. Rumnavi, one of Atabaliba's generals, who had retired from the bloody slaughter at Caxamalca, with the rear-guard of his army, seized upon the province of Quito, and no sooner heard of his sovereign's death, than he cut to pieces such of his officers as he believed firmly attached to his late master: while Quisquis, another of his generals, who had been Huescar's executioner, attempted, with a still larger army, to secure part of the province of Cuzco. This attempt was supported with so little bravery, that he fled before a handful of
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of Spaniards who were sent in pursuit of him; but a few of these pushing too far, and falling into his hands, he caused them to be put to death.

This general justly apprehending, that he could not upon his own interest and strength, maintain himself against the other Indian commanders, as well as against the Spaniards; contrived to get into his power a younger brother of the inca, whose name was Paullu, whom he persuaded to take the title of emperor. This young prince discovered a greatness of soul worthy of the highest praise, and generously told Quisquis, that he scorned to derive that authority from the misery of the empire, which he could not hope for in better times, and esteemed it far more honourable to be thought a good man, than a bad monarch: which had such an effect upon Quisquis, that though he had this prince in his power, he allowed him to retire. Whereupon he went to Francis Pizarro, and told him that the true heir of the empire was his eldest brother Manco Capac; and that if, as he pretended, he proposed to do justice, and to protect those who had right on their side, he ought to declare in favour of that prince, who had already a good army, and who, with the assistance of the Spaniards, would infallibly restore the lustre of the imperial diadem.

It would be difficult to conceive a country in a worse situation than Peru was now in, or a nation in greater distraction than its inhabitants. They were dispirited with superstitious fears of the Spaniards, which prevented their considering their own strength: and on the other hand, were divided into different factions, headed by different princes, at a time when union alone was absolutely necessary for their preservation. Pizarro, after having gratified his resentment, thought fit to treat the corpse of Atabaliba with the respect due to a sovereign prince. He celebrated his funeral with great solemnity, and went into mourning for him; but he soon discovered how detestable this

murder rendered him in the opinion of the natives. The two factions instantly united against him under Manco Capac, the brother and heir of Huescar, who was proclaimed inca at Cuzco. Upon which Pizarro proclaimed Toparpa, the son of Atabaliba; caused him to wear the imperial coronet; to be treated with the same honours as his father; and issued such orders in his name as were for the interest of the Spaniards. This emperor, however, died soon after, when Pizarro imagining that nothing could establish the dominion of the Spaniards in Peru, more than his obtaining possession of Cuzco its capital, he began his march thither with all his forces, which consisted of near 400 men, besides such as were stiled confederate Indians.

Mean while Atauchi, brother to Atabaliba, having collected a large quantity of treasure, to purchase his brother's ransom, brought it to Caxamalca: but finding Atabaliba murdered, and the Spaniards marched from thence, resolved to be revenged; and joining his forces with some Peruvian generals, surprised the Spaniards upon their march to Cuzco, killed some of them, and took several prisoners. Among these prisoners was Sanco de Cuellar, who had drawn up the process against Atabaliba, and attended his execution. With these prisoners the Indian generals returned to Caxamalca, where they caused De Cuellar to be strangled on the very spot where the emperor was put to death. But being informed that some of the other prisoners had protested against the inca's murder, they not only spared their lives, but ordered the wounded to be cured, and dismissed them with considerable presents, on their signing the following articles. That all acts of hostility should be forgiven on both sides: that for the future, peace should be inviolably maintained between the Peruvians and Spaniards: that the former should allow Manco Capac to ascend the throne of Peru: that such Indians as they held in chains should be set at liberty: that for the future,

no Peruvian should be loaded with fetters; and that the Spaniards should not treat them as slaves, but as freemen, and be allowed to entertain Peruvians as hired servants: that all the laws of their country should be inviolably observed, which were not repugnant to those of Christianity: and that this treaty should be ratified by the Spanish general and his sovereign the emperor of Germany. The Spaniards insisted on having the free exercise of their religion; on having lands assigned them for their subsistence; and free liberty of trade, without paying any taxes. All which were granted them.

But reasonable and generous as these articles were, Pizarro and Almagro positively refused to ratify them; and would hear nothing but an absolute submission of their country and persons to the will of the Spaniards. Continuing his march therefore toward Cuzco, he was again attacked at some difficult passes in the mountains, by several parties of Peruvians: but finding themselves unable to resist their fire-arms and horses, they fled to the capital; declaring that it was in vain for any human force to oppose the Spaniards, who were armed with thunder and lightning. The inhabitants of Cuzco, upon this, fled with their wives and children, and what was most valuable to them, to the woods and mountains. Pizarro entered the city without opposition, in October, 1532; and though the citizens had time to carry off their goods, he met with immense treasure: and as it was the custom of the country to bury with their great men the best part of the riches they possessed, these conquerors, who made no difficulty of rifling sepulchres, found as much wealth in the tombs, as in the habitations of the living. The plunder of the city has been computed to amount at least to the full value of Atabaliba's ransom.

Pizarro having now made himself master of the capital, thought fit to invite the inhabitants to return to their dwellings; as he justly concluded, that if the

people were rendered desperate, the whole power of the empire might assemble against him. The Indians accepted this invitation, and returned to their houses; and even the Inca made some overtures, intimating that he would be content to embrace the Christian religion, and hold his dominions of the emperor of Germany, provided that neither he nor his subjects should for the future be molested either in their persons or estates. Pizarro giving him all possible encouragement, he came in person to Cuzco, where he was proclaimed Inca, and invested with that dignity in the same manner as his predecessors; Pizarro at the same time agreeing to observe the articles already mentioned. These pacific measures were indeed become necessary, intelligence being received that all the southern provinces of Peru were assembling against them, in behalf of the inca Manco Capac; and from Pizarro's knowing that Rumnavi, Quisquis, and other Peruvian generals, had taken possession of Quito, which had a little before obliged him to send a considerable detachment under the command of Sebastian Belancazar to reinforce the colony at St. Michael's, and to make head against the Peruvian generals in Quito.

While Francis Pizarro and his officers were thus employed in the reduction of several provinces of the empire, they were suddenly interrupted by an unexpected invasion of their countrymen. Don Pedro de Alverado, who had distinguished himself with Cortes in the conquest of Mexico, hearing of the vast wealth obtained by these adventurers, was resolved to come in for a share. As he was possessed of the province of Guatimala, he fitted out several ships, and landed at Puerto Vejo; crossed a part of the Andes near the equator; and was met in the valley of Riobamba by a large body of troops sent by Pizarro, under the command of Almagro, who had joined Belancazar. A battle now seemed almost inevitable; but a negotiation being entered into, and a
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private treaty signed between them; Alverado agreed to return to his own government, in consideration of his being paid 100,000 pesos of gold to defray the expence of fitting out his fleet: and promised never to attempt an invasion of Peru during the lives of Pizarro or Almagro. Things being thus amicably settled, Alverado and Almagro joined their forces, in order to march to Cuzco to procure Pizarro's ratification of the treaty: but Pizarro, who chose to prevent his arrival at that capital, met him by the way, and accommodated matters to their mutual satisfaction.

Alverado, after he had sufficiently rested and refreshed himself, took his leave of the two generals, highly satisfied both with the treatment he had met with, and the treasures he had acquired. Almagro then went back to Cuzco, while Pizarro staid behind to search for a proper place for founding a new city; which he at length built on the sea coast on the banks of the little river Lima, in $12^{\circ} 30'$, south latitude, 120 miles west of Cuzco. The first stone was laid on the 6th of January, 1534; and from its being the feast of Epiphany, he called the town *Villa de los Reyes*, or the city of kings. This place is now the capital of Peru, and is known by the name of Lima. He then proceeded along the coast of the South Sea to a place about 300 miles farther north, where he founded another city; which, from the place of his birth, he called Truxillo.

While Francis Pizarro was employed in building this last city, he received advice, that his brother Ferdinand had in a great measure succeeded in his negotiation at the court of Spain; having procured for him the title of Marquis de los Atabillos, with the revenues of that province, and a large increase of territory, which was to be distinguished by the name of New Castile: that he had also obtained for Almagro the post of marshal of Peru, and a government 200 leagues in extent to the southward of the country

country assigned to the marquis Pizarro; but that as to his demand of the vassalage of 20,000 Indians, the emperor refused to grant it him, till he was informed of the customs of the country, and what consequences might proceed from it, when he would show him all the favour in that particular that was consistent with justice.

As the assistance of the Peruvians was still necessary to the Spaniards, they endeavoured to keep fair with them, yet at the same time awed them with troops in different places: they strengthened Belanazar at Quito, and a large body marched to the north-east to reduce some provinces bordering on the immense ridge of mountains called the Andes; and thus shewed, that they were very far from intending to perform the agreement made with the Peruvians.

Almagro having resolved upon his southern expedition, the inca Manco, in hopes of obliging the Spaniards, assisted him with 15,000 men, under the conduct of his brother Paullu, and Villachuma, or as he is called by the Spanish historians, Villahoma. With this body of men Almagro began his march in the year 1545, and proceeded southward as far as the province of Charcas; which he slighted as not worth keeping, on account of its being a barren and inhospitable country*. In this province Almagro was informed of two passages into Chili, both of them attended with extraordinary difficulty: the one being through a hot sandy desert, where his people must be prepared to encounter the severest attacks of heat and thirst; the other lying over prodigious mountains covered with snow, so craggy and steep as scarce to admit of being climbed, and so intensely cold as to be impassable, except at one season of the year.

* This has, however, since proved the most valuable of all the Spanish acquisitions, as it contains the rich mountains of Potosi, from whence more silver has been brought into Europe, than from any other mines hitherto discovered.

Almagro considering that the latter was the shorter road, and that cold, however sharp, was more supportable to European constitutions than excessive heat, chose that passage; and persisted in his resolution, in spite of the representations of Paullu and the Indians: but he had soon reason to repent of his obstinacy; for his men being obliged to remove the snow with their hands, made short journies, soon consumed their provisions, and were reduced to inconceivable distresses; so that he lost above 10,000 Peruvians, and 150 Spaniards, exclusive of such as escaped with the loss of their fingers and toes, though the Spaniards were very warmly cloathed. They also lost all or the greatest part of their baggage. However, they, at length, after a tedious march of 600 miles, arrived in Copayapu, subject to the inca of Peru, where, through Paullu's influence, they were cheerfully entertained; and the inhabitants not only brought them plenty of provisions, but being informed of their love of gold, made them presents to the amount of 5000 ducats.

Almagro found Paullu's authority of great service to him in his progress; for on his account he was received in many places with much cordiality, and opposed in few; so that he might easily have established colonies in very advantageous situations, had not a kind of infatuation directed all his views toward Cuzco, where he was resolved to rule: affirming, that according to the commission which he had received from the king of Spain, this city fell within his jurisdiction. This commission was brought him by Ruis Diaz and Juan de Herada, who joined him with recruits from Cuzco, after having passed the Cordilleras, the road Almagro himself had taken; and which, as it was then summer, he passed with very little fatigue.

Notwithstanding Almagro's receiving these recruits, he abandoned all his views upon Chili, and began his march northward; when his army being
terrified

terrified at the remembrance of the distresses they had endured in passing the Cordilleras, absolutely refused to return by the same road they came. Upon which he was obliged to take his rout through the desert, where he was told by the Indians, that there was no water, but what was to be met with in standing pools, corrupted by the heat of the sun; and even these at eighteen or twenty miles distance from each other. To remedy these inconveniences, leathern bottles were made to carry the water, and parties of Indians dispatched before the army to drain the pits of that which was stagnated, and leave the fresh at liberty to rise: expedients that were of vast use, and that enabled them to pass these barren tracts with much less difficulty than was at first imagined.

In the mean while, the Peruvians who marched with Almagro, grew discontented at the ill usage they met with from the Spaniards, and complained to each other of their barbarity. None had greater share in these conferences than the interpreter so often mentioned, who at length engaged in a plot against Almagro's life; but reflecting on the danger to which he was exposed, endeavoured to secure himself by flight. He was however taken, and then informed against the inca Paullu as being the principal person in the plot; but this being inconsistent with that prince's general behaviour, Almagro caused the interpreter to be put to the torture, when he confessed the falshood of his accusation, and at the same time acknowledged, that by false suggestions he had contributed to take away the life of Arabaliba. On which accounts he suffered an ignominious death.

At this time affairs were in great confusion in Peru: the inca Manco had now lost all confidence in the Spaniards, and was sensible of the injuries he received, and of the little hopes there were of his ever being restored to the possession of his throne and the sovereign power, as had been promised by the treaty

treaty of Caxamalca, that he resolved to try what could be done by force; judging it better to rely upon the justice of his cause, and the assistance of his people, than upon the promises of those who had so basely broke their words to his brother, and never fulfilled their engagements to himself. For this purpose he prevailed on Ferdinand Pizarro to give him leave to go to a solemn festival held at Yucaya, four leagues from Cuzco; which was in reality a kind of assembly of the states of Peru, where a scheme was laid of instantly raising three armies, and investing Cuzco, Lima, and Truxillo at the same time. With the first he himself took the castle of Cuzco, and closely blocked up the city: the second, which consisted of a good body of troops, marched against Francis Pizarro, who was sent to the city of Lima; and the third was intended to act against Almagro, notice of which was sent to the high priest, who found means to escape from the army. Prince Paullu was also informed of the situation of his brother's affairs, and what was expected from him in order to facilitate the conquest of the invaders; but he rejected these proposals, and declared he would never break his faith with the Spaniards. The interpreter having disclosed this secret with his last breath, Almagro declared Paullu emperor; and though he had before refused that title, yet he suffered it to be given him, for the sake of his own safety, and that his nation might not want a protector.

The inca Manco still continued to besiege Cuzco with an army of 200,000 men: but though there were only 70 Spaniards in the place, yet having some horse and a good train of artillery, they made a vigorous defence; and what is still more surprising, made several sallies, in one of which Juan Pizarro being wounded in the head with a stone, died about three days after, to the great regret of those of his party.

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The inca, hearing of Almagro's approaching Cuzco, resolved to retire; and though Almagro endeavoured to persuade him to agree to a treaty, he absolutely refused it, being determined never more to hear of terms from a people who had hitherto kept none with him. He had also took a very surprising step, which was disbanding his army, and privately retiring to the mountains. His officers endeavoured to dissuade him from it, by observing, that no time could ever promise him greater success than this, in which Pizarro and Almagro were at open variance. In answer to which he replied, that notwithstanding their private animosities, they would certainly join against him, should he make a shew of opposing them; and that it was time enough for him to return and vindicate his right, when they were thoroughly weakened by their mutual contentions.

It is surprizing that the Spaniards should have chosen this time for quarrelling among themselves, and entering into a civil war. But Almagro having a considerable body of troops under his command, resolved immediately to renew his old claim to Cuzco; and in case he should make himself master of that city, determined to render it the seat of his government. On his appearing before the walls, and finding the Indians drawn off, he sent a summons to Don Ferdinand Pizarro, the Spanish governor, to deliver up the city: to which he answered, that he held it by commission from his brother the marquis, and would not deliver it up without his orders, as he knew it to be within the limits of his brother's government. He immediately proceeded to put the place in a posture of defence; but part of the garrison being Almagro's friends, introduced his forces into the town at midnight, when Ferdinand and Gonzalo Pizarro were made prisoners; by which means Almagro became possessed of Cuzco, with little or no bloodshed, and most of the garrison entered into his pay.

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In the mean time the marquis Pizarro hearing no news from his brother at Cuzco, and concluding that all the parties he had sent thither to reinforce them had been cut off by the Peruvians; resolved to send such a body of troops thither as should be able to force their way in spite of all the opposition the Indians could make against them. Having assembled 5000 horse and foot, he gave the command of this body to Don Alonzo de Alverado, with orders to march with all possible expedition; and under him appointed Pedro de Lerma captain of a troop of horse, who being an older officer, was so disgusted, that he meditated the ruin of the enterprize.

Alverado marched with such dispatch, that though he had pressed upwards of 5000 Peruvians to carry their baggage, most of them perished in the first part of the journey, by being overladen, and driven beyond their strength: upon which he halted, and pressed some thousands more, to supply the places of those he had lost.

Almagro having received intelligence that Don Alonzo Alverado was advancing, dispatched some Spaniards of distinction to represent to him that Cuzco, according to the emperor's division of Peru, was a part of his government, and to advise him to return back to Lima, till the marquis and he should adjust the limits of their respective government: when Alverado, instead of complying with this request, made these gentlemen prisoners. Upon this Almagro took the field, and surprised a party of Alverado's horse; by whom he was informed, that great part of the troops were better affected to him than to the marquis of Pizarro, and that Pedro de Lerma with many of his friends, would desert upon the first opportunity: he therefore advanced to the banks of a small river, on the other side of which Alverado was encamped. They remained quiet, however, without endeavouring to attack each other the whole day; but in the night Orgonez, Almagro's lieutenant-general,

general, forded the river at the head of the troops, threw Alverado's forces into great confusion; and giving Pedro de Lerma, with the rest of Almagro's friends, an opportunity of joining him, gained an easy victory, and took Alverado prisoner, with whom he returned in triumph to Cuzco. Some of the principal commanders now advised the conqueror to provide for his future security, by putting the Pizarros to death: but this he absolutely refused, alledging, that it was beneath a gentleman and a soldier to put people to death in cold blood; and though he was pressed with great warmth to march with his victorious army against Lima, he would not agree to it, on account of his having no claim to that part of the country.

The marquis Pizarro was greatly affected at the news of this defeat; and finding himself too weak to make head against Almagro, he sent deputies to Cuzco to propose an accommodation. Almagro received them with great civility; and promised to have an interview with the marquis, in which commissioners should be chosen to settle their respective boundaries. He accordingly marched out of Cuzco, at the head of above five hundred Spaniards, and took the road to Lima, carrying Ferdinand Pizarro with him as his prisoner, while Gonzalo Pizarro and Alverado were left in the city under the care of De Rojas; but after Almagro's departure, they seized De Rojas, put him in irons, and made their escape to Lima, accompanied by about 60 men, whom they had won over to their interest. Upon receiving the news of their escape, Orgonez and his partizans urged Almagro to revenge it by the death of his prisoner Ferdinand; but this he absolutely refused, and soon after met the marquis at Mala, with twelve persons on each side, in order to terminate their disputes. This conference was however suddenly broke off by one of Almagro's followers rushing abruptly into his presence, and crying out that he was betrayed; where-
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upon he instantly took horse and rode off, leaving matters entirely unsettled.

This alarm was caused by the approach of Gonzalo with 700 men. Upon which Orgonez also advanced with his troops, in order to prevent the treachery he suspected to be in agitation. Each side now seemed ready for war: but a treaty was concluded; by which the possession of Cuzco, with other advantages, was ceded to Almagro, till the emperor's decision should be known. In consequence of this treaty, Ferdinand Pizarro was set at liberty, upon his taking an oath not to act against Almagro.

The marquis Pizarro had no sooner obtained his brother's liberty, than he broke through the treaty; sending a notary with witnesses to summon Almagro to surrender Cuzco and all the places he had conquered, on pain of being treated as a rebel. This method of proceeding was the more inexcusable, as he had just before received an express from court, by which each governor was enjoined, under pain of the emperor's displeasure, to keep quiet possession of all such places as should own their respective jurisdiction at the time of the messenger's arrival: and in case they thought themselves injured, they were directed to appeal to the council of the Indies. But these orders he thought fit to suppress.

Almagro, seeing how ungenerously he was treated, gave orders for defending Cuzco; and marched with his troops to meet the marquis's army, which was advancing under the command of Gonzalo Pizarro: but after an engagement, which lasted two hours, Almagro was entirely defeated. He retired to the citadel of Cuzco, whither he was followed by Alvarado, to whom he was soon obliged to surrender.

Almagro was no sooner in the power of his enemies, than Ferdinand resolved to be revenged for his own and his brother's long imprisonment, and effectually to prevent his making head against the Pizarros for the future: therefore, after Almagro had been

some months confined in prison at Cuzco, the lawyers were employed to draw up articles against him; the principal of which were, that he had seized the city of Cuzco; entered into a secret treaty with the inca; encroached upon the government granted to the marquis, and fought two battles against the forces of his sovereign; by which much Christian blood had been spilt, and the progress of the Spanish arms greatly retarded.

For these offences, Almagro being tried by his enemies, was convicted and condemned to die; though he appealed to the emperor, and in very moving terms applied to Ferdinand Pizarro to save his life. But the Pizarros were deaf to all his entreaties; and having caused him to be strangled in prison, they privately ordered his head to be cut off on a scaffold in the great square of Cuzco.

The death of Almagro, though covered with a shew of justice, was so highly resented by the Spaniards, that instead of extinguishing, as was expected, it increased his faction. Upon which Ferdinand Pizarro, suspecting from the behaviour of the soldiers, that some designs were carrying on against his life, thought proper to follow Alverado to Spain, with all the gold he could collect, in order to bribe the Spanish ministry. But Alverado having prepared the way for his reception, he was arrested and thrown into prison as soon as he arrived; and though Alverado died soon after, he was suspected to have been poisoned by Ferdinand to put a stop to the prosecution; yet the latter continued 23 years in confinement.

The Peruvians now observing the division which subsisted among the Spanish generals, had again recourse to arms; and though the Spaniards in Peru soon amounted to above 2000, they found it more difficult to maintain their ground than at first, when they had not 400: for the terror the Peruvians were under from the fire-arms and horses, which they had never

never seen before, was in a great measure worn off. Some of them even learned how to ride and handle arms; and having taken some horses, were not afraid to make use of them against these tyrants; and it seems highly probable, that had not some particular bodies of Indians been so infatuated as to adhere to the interest of the Spaniards, discover the strong passions, and from time to time bring them both provisions and intelligence; Pizarro would at last have been obliged to abandon his conquests.

The most considerable acquisition made after Almagro's death, was the conquest of the province of Charcas, in which were the invaluable mines of Potosi; whose treasures attracted such a multitude of adventurers, that the Peruvians were at length compelled to submit, and become slaves to their imperious masters.

This conquest being finished, the marquis founded the town of La Plata, so named from the silver mines, and divided, not only the city and the country about it, but the Indian inhabitants among the conquerors. To his brother Ferdinand Pizarro, who was then confined in Spain, he allotted a large share; and to his brother Gonzalo, that part of the country in which were the silver mines of Potosi. Ferdinand, as a citizen of La Plata, had also a share in these mines; and a particular part of the country being assigned to his officers, they discovered so rich a vein, that they are said to have dug from it the finest silver without any alloy.

The marquis now found himself possessed of an extent of country 7 or 800 leagues in length, from the equinoctial to the south part of the province of Charcas, in which were more rich mines than in all the world beside, and yet his ambition was not satisfied: but in an extreme old age he employed his brother Gonzalo, who was then governor of Quito, in the conquest of other nations.

Gonzalo accordingly entered the province of Los Quitos; and after subduing that country, where the people were downright barbarians when compared with those of Peru, he resolved to pass the high mountains which bound that province on the north. For that purpose he assembled a considerable number of Indians, and a good quantity of cattle; but having ascended half way, the cold was so intense, that he perceived it would be impossible for him to prosecute his march in that manner. Therefore leaving his cattle and the best part of his baggage, he hastily descended into the valley of Zumaque, which he found extremely fertile, and there refreshed his forces for two months.

Gonzalo then endeavoured to continue his march northward; but finding the way extremely rough and mountainous, he turned directly east, in hopes of meeting with an easier passage. He entered into a rich and populous country, where the inhabitants were filled with amazement and terror at seeing the Spaniards among them; and indeed they had the greatest reason: for these pretended Christians behaved toward them with the most savage brutality. Gonzalo Pizarro himself is said, even by some Spanish writers, to have given several of the natives to be eaten alive by his dogs.

This inhuman treatment made them rise in arms against these invaders, which obliged him to encamp and use all the precautions necessary in an enemy's country. But at length, finding no appearance of the riches he had been made to expect, he returned to Zumaque, much dissatisfied with his expedition; but resolved, nevertheless, not to return to Quito till he had made some discovery, that would render him as famous as his elder brother the marquis Pizarro.

This resolution Gonzalo communicated to Francis Orellana, a gentleman of Truxillo, who came to join him in the valley of Zumaque: and having taken

100 soldiers, and some Indians for guides and to carry provisions, he marched directly to the east. But these guides soon brought him into a country full of mountains, forests, and torrents; which obliged him to make ways where he found none, and to open a passage through the woods with hatchets. However after many days march, he pierced through as far as the province of Coca, where the cacique came to meet him, and offered him all the accommodations the country afforded.

Gonzalo was highly pleased with this reception; and by the assistance of his guides entered into a conversation with the cacique, who let him know, that the country through which he had passed was so full of mountains, forests and rivers, that he had taken the only passage that could have brought him thither: but that, if he was willing to embark on the river he saw before him, or to follow it by land, he might assure himself, that he should reach the banks of another river, much larger than this, where there was a plentiful country, whose inhabitants were covered with plates of gold.

The cacique could not have mentioned a more alluring motive: Gonzalo's avarice was fired, and he immediately sent two of his guides with orders to the officers and soldiers he had left at Zumaque to come and join him immediately. These orders they instantly obeyed; and surmounting all the difficulties of the way, arrived much fatigued at the town of Coca, where Gonzalo made them stay some days to refresh themselves. He afterward proceeded along the banks of the river, which were extremely pleasant: but the smoothness of the way did not last long. It was soon interrupted by small rivers and uneven grounds; and they were obliged to march 43 days without finding either provisions, fords, or canoes to enable them to pass the river. By this long march they were much fatigued, when they were stopped by a sight which ap-

peared very surprising : the river grew narrow and confined between two rocks, at no more than 20 feet distance from each other ; and the water rushing with rapidity through this strait, precipitated itself into a valley, which lay 200 fathoms below.

Here Pizarro made that famous bridge for his troops to pass over, which is so much extolled by the Spanish historians ; but finding the way not at all the better on the other side, and their provisions growing daily more and more scarce, he resolved to cause a brigantine to be built, in order to carry by water all his sick men, provisions, baggage and gold. This being done with no small difficulty, Pizarro sent on board this vessel whatever had obstructed his march, with 50 soldiers, under the command of Francis Orellana, who were strictly ordered to keep up with them, and to come every night to the camp. This order he observed very exactly, till Gonzalo seeing all his men pinched with hunger, commanded him to go in search of provisions and cottages, where the Spaniards might meet with refreshments.

No sooner had Orellana received his orders, than he lanced out into the middle of the river, where the rapidity of the stream carried him, as fast as he could wish ; for in three days he made above 100 leagues without the use of either sails or oars. The current of the river Coca, at length carried him into a much larger river, where the stream was not near so swift. He there staid a whole day to make his observation ; and perceiving that the farther he went down, the more the river widened, he had not the least doubt that this was the great river that had been so often sought for : which filled him with such joy at his good fortune, that without paying the least regard to his duty to Gonzalo Pizarro, he thought of nothing but executing an enterprize he was then forming. For this purpose he sounded his men ; telling them, that he aspired to a much higher dignity than could be obtained in the service of Pizarro : that
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he owed every thing to himself and to his king; and that his fortune having, as it were, led him by the hand, to the greatest and most desirable discovery that ever was made in the Indies, namely, the great river whereupon they were sailing; which coming out of Peru, and running from west to east, was the finest channel in the new world, through which they might pass from the South Sea to the Atlantic Ocean: he could not, without betraying them all, and without ravishing from them the fruits of their voyage and industry, make others share in a favour which heaven had reserved for them alone.

These representations had the desired effect; and inspired his men with a share of that ambition which fired his own breast. His necessities however sometimes forced him to land with his people to obtain provisions; but as he did not take these with that prudence that became him in a strange country, the natives unanimously took up arms, and with great boldness fell upon the Spaniards; who defended themselves with much courage, and killed many of their antagonists with their cross-bows. Upon inspecting their bodies, they found that several of them were women; it being no uncommon thing in that country for the women to fight by the sides of their husbands. But Orellana being of a romantic turn, improved this slight hint into a formal history of a great nation of Amazons settled upon this river: by which fable, he overturned his great design of giving it his own name; for from this story it received the name which it still bears, and will always bear, of The River of the Amazons.

In the remaining part of his passage, Orellana took care to behave with more prudence and mildness to the people he met with; among whom were many genteel and even polite nations. In fine, he passed down the river to the sea; and having coasted about a promontory, now called the North Cape, two hundred leagues from the island of Trinidad,

he sailed directly thither, and there buying a ship, returned to Spain, where he made such a report of the countries he had seen to the emperor Charles V. that he obtained as ample a commission as he could desire. In the year 1549, he sailed with three ships for the river of the Amazons; but this second expedition was the very reverse of the first, and was unfortunate from the very beginning: for being wrecked on the coast of the Caraccas, he died of mere vexation and despair in the island of St. Margaret.

But to return to Gonzalo, who, while Orellana was engaged in this expedition, was reduced to the greatest distress: he proceeded several days along the banks of the river, till at last seeing that there were no hopes of Orellana's return, he concluded, that he and his men were lost; and therefore giving up all expectation of making any farther discoveries in that country, proceeded back to his government of Quito.

After the marquis Pizarro had sent his brother Gonzalo on the above expedition, he employed himself solely in securing and establishing his authority by a method that was at once the most cruel and impolitic. He had before discharged all the officers whom he suspected to have had any regard for Almagro; and conscious of his own injustice, and fearing lest they should complain against him, he prevented their returning home to Spain, by which means many of them were reduced to the necessity of living upon the alms of their countrymen. He resolved to deprive them even of this pitiful subsistence; and for this purpose, published an edict forbidding any to relieve them; a proceeding that at once rendered them desperate; and seeing no end to their miseries, but by dispatching themselves or the marquis, they resolved upon the latter. He was assassinated in his own house on Sunday June 26th 1541, in the 65th year of his age, in the city of Lima, the capital of Peru, which he had founded ten or eleven years before.

fore. His body was, by the young Almagro's permission, privately interred by his servants, no person of any figure daring at this juncture, to attend his funeral, for fear of giving offence to the prevailing party.

The meanness of Pizarro's education was publickly known, from his not being able to write his own name, which was always inserted by his secretary between two strokes, which he drew with a pen. He was never married, but had several concubines, some of them the daughters and sisters of the incas : however, it is not known that he left any children behind him.

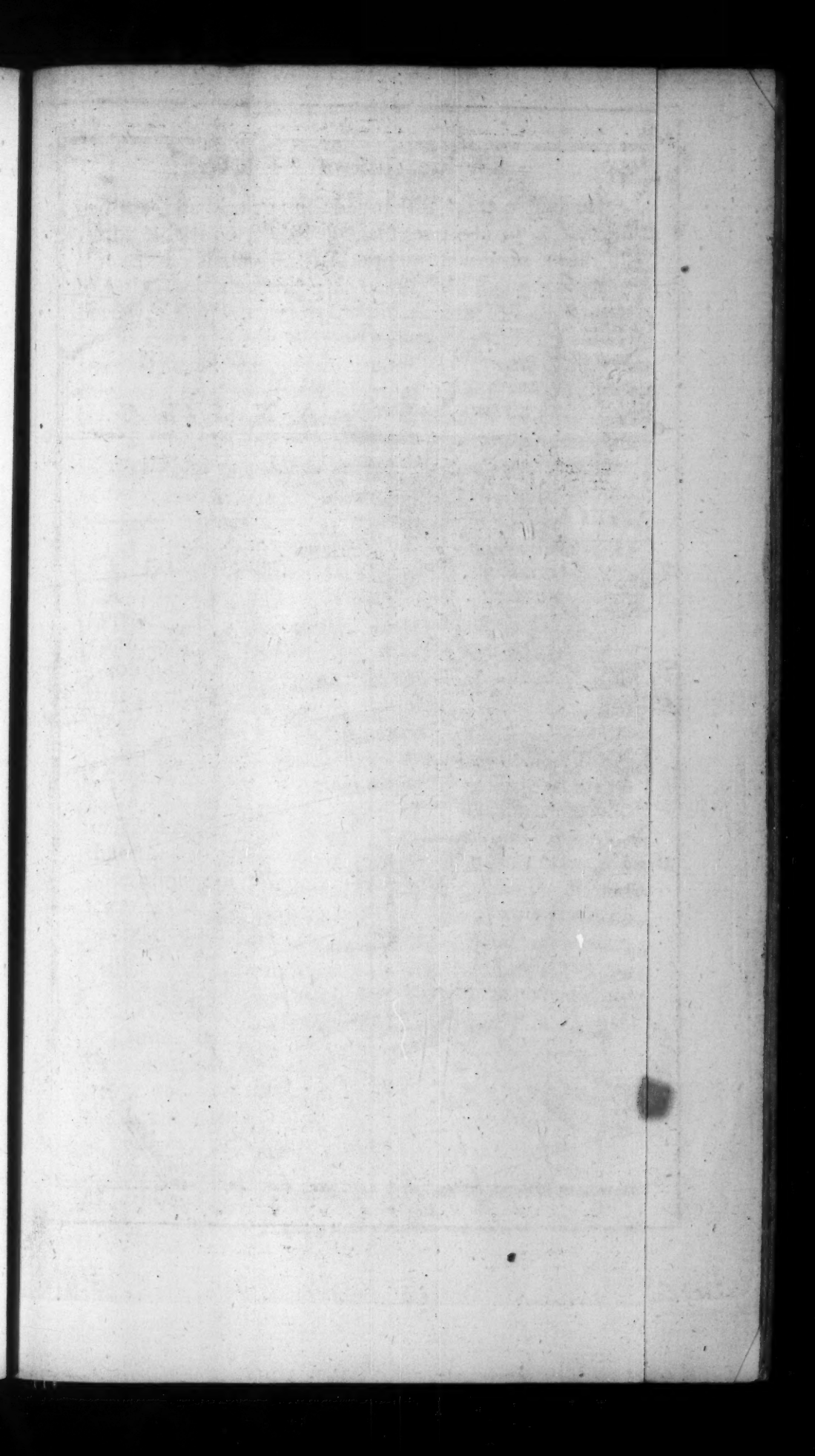
No sooner was this bloody affair compleated, than the conspirators returned to the market-place, declaring that the tyrant was dead ; and proclaimed the young Almagro governor of Peru. For all the friends of Almagro had assembled while the others were attacking the marquis in his palace, and securing his guards, prevented his receiving any assistance. They also secured all the horses and arms in the city, and commanded all the inhabitants who refused to join them, not to stir out of their houses without leave. They plundered the houses of the marquis, and his principal friends, in which they found immense treasure. They did not meddle with the furniture of the marquis's palace, which they left for the use of the young Almagro, whom they had no sooner proclaimed governor, than they conducted thither.

The death of Pizarro was, however, far from restoring quiet to Peru ; for a new commissioner named Vaca de Castro, a man of strict integrity, being sent from Spain to compose the differences among the generals, and in case of Pizarro's death to assume the government of Peru ; he made head against young Almagro, and defeated him. The consequence was, that Almagro was tried, condemned, and executed in the same place where his father lost his life before ; together with the chief persons of his party.

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De Castro then disbanded his troops and applied himself to prudent regulations for the equitable administration of government; but the cabals of the ministry in Spain obstructed his progress. A kind of royal audience was established in Peru, which thwarted all his measures; a new governor was sent over of an haughty arbitrary disposition; and in the mean time Gonzalo Pizarro got himself acknowledged governor of Peru, by a formidable party; so that now all was distraction and confusion.

The emperor being uneasy at hearing of these dangerous divisions, sent Pedro de Gasco, a priest of an excellent character, over under the title of president of the royal court of Peru, with sovereign powers. He defeated Gonzalo Pizarro, and taking him prisoner, caused him to be tried and beheaded; and his principal followers to be hanged. After having made these sacrifices, he proclaimed a general pardon, and retired to Cuzco, where he staid for some time, and was greatly perplexed in distributing the land among the soldiers, in which he found it impossible to satisfy their several demands. At length, being wearied out with their solicitations, he resolved to escape from them at once, and therefore privately withdrew to Lima, whence he went to Panama, in order to embark for Europe: and it is said, carried with him near two millions for the emperor's use, and not a ducat for himself. He embarked at Nombre de Dios for Spain, in the year 1550; and at his arrival, the emperor was so pleased with his conduct, that he gave him the bishopric of Sigüenza, a city in old Castile.





A Voyage to SOUTH AMERICA,

By DON GEORGE JUAN

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DON ANTONIO DE ULLOA.

THIS voyage may be considered as one of the most useful and authentic narratives that ever appeared in any language. It was undertaken by the command of the king of Spain, and the original published at Madrid by his direction. The motive that gave rise to this expedition was, to measure the length of a degree of the meridian near the equator, in order to determine the true figure of the earth. Lewis XV. had applied to the Spanish monarch for leave to send some of the royal academy of sciences at Paris to Quito, which is situated near the equator, that they might make the necessary observations for determining a problem of such importance to the sciences in general, and to those of geography and navigation in particular. The king of Spain, persuaded of the candour of this application, and being desirous of concurring in so noble a design, not only granted leave for the French mathematicians to repair to Quito, but also appointed Don George Juan, and Don Antonio de Ulloa, both captains in the Spanish navy, and very able mathematicians, to accompany the French artists, and assist them in an undertaking at once so useful and so difficult to be performed.

The Spanish artists embarked at Cadiz on the 26th of May 1735; but the wind shifting, they were obliged

obliged to come to an anchor about half a league without Las Puercas, where they remained till the 28th, when the wind coming about to the northward, they once more got under sail; and without meeting with any accident worth relating, came to an anchor in Carthagena bay on the 9th of July.

The city of Carthagena stands in 10 deg. 25 min. $48\frac{1}{2}$ seconds north latitude, and in the longitude of 282 deg. 28 min. 36 seconds, from the meridian of Paris; and 301 deg. 12 min. 36 seconds, from the meridian of Pico Teneriffe, as appeared from the observations of the Spanish artists. The variation of the needle they also, from several observations, found to be eight degrees easterly.

The advantageous situation of Carthagena, the extent and security of its bay, and the great share it attained of the commerce of that southern continent, soon caused it to be erected into a city; and the same circumstance contributed to its preservation and increase, so that it soon became the most esteemed settlement and staple of the Spaniards; but at the same time these advantages also drew on it the hostilities of foreigners, who, thirsting after its riches, or induced by the importance of the place itself, have several times taken and plundered it.

The city is situated on a sandy island, which forming a narrow passage on the south-west, opens a communication with that part called Tierra Bomba, as far as Boca Chica. The neck of land which now joins them, was formerly the entrance of the bay; but it having been closed up by orders from Madrid, Boca Chica became the only entrance; and this also has been filled up since the last attempt of the English in the year 1741. This attempt induced the Spanish court to send orders for opening the old entrance, through which all ships now sail into the bay. The land is so narrow on the north side, that before the wall was begun, the distance from sea to sea was only thirty-five fathoms; but afterward enlarging, forms
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another island on this side ; and the whole city is, excepting these two places, which are very narrow, entirely surrounded by the sea. Eastward it communicates by means of a wooden bridge. The fortifications both of the city and suburbs are constructed in the modern form, and lined with free stone.

The city and suburbs of Carthagena are well laid out, the streets being straight, broad, uniform, and well paved. The houses are built of stone, except a few which are of brick ; but consist chiefly of only one story above the ground-floor ; the apartments, however, are well contrived. All the houses have balconies and lattices of wood, as being more durable in this climate than iron, which is soon corroded and destroyed by the moisture and acrimonious quality of the nitrous air : and from this circumstance, added to the smoaky colour of the walls, the outside of the buildings make but an indifferent appearance.

All the churches and convents are elegant and sufficiently capacious ; but there appears something of poverty in the ornaments, and some of them want what even decency requires.

The jurisdiction of the government of Carthagena reaches eastward to the great river de la Magdalena, and along it southward ; till winding away, it borders on the province of Antioguia : thence it stretches westward to the river of Darien ; and thence northward to the ocean, all along the coasts between the mouths of these two rivers. There is a tradition, that all these countries formerly abounded in gold, and some vestiges of the old mines of that metal are still to be seen in the neighbourhoods of Simiti, San Lucas, and Guamaco ; but they are now neglected ; being, as imagined, exhausted. But what equally contributed to the richness of this country, was the trade it carried on with Choco and Darien ; from whence they brought in exchange for this metal, the several manufactures of which they stood in need.

To the above circumstantial description of the city
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of Carthagena, it may not be amiss to add a short account of its inhabitants, which may be divided into different casts or tribes, who derive their origin from a coalition of whites, negroes, and Indians. It will therefore be necessary to treat of each particularly.

The whites may be divided into classes; the Europeans and Creoles, or whites born in the country. The former are commonly called Chapetones, but are not numerous; most of them either return into Spain after acquiring a competent fortune, or remove up into the inland provinces in order to increase it. Those who are settled at Carthagena, carry on the whole trade of that place, and live in opulence, whilst the other inhabitants are indigent, and reduced to have recourse to mean and hard labour for subsistence. The families of the white Creoles compose the landed interest; some of them have large estates, and are highly respected, because their ancestors came into the country invested with honourable posts, bringing their families with them when they settled here. Some of these families, in order to keep up their original dignity, have either married their children to their equals in the country, or sent them as officers on board the galleons. Beside these, there are other whites in mean circumstances, who either owe their origin to Indian families, or at least to an intermarriage with them; so that there is some mixture in their blood: but when this is not discoverable by their colour, the conceit of being whites, alleviates the pressure of every other calamity.

Among the other tribes which are derived from an intermarriage of the whites with the negroes, the first are the Mulattoes, so well known, that there is no necessity for saying any thing farther on this head. Next to these are the Tercerones, produced from a white and a Mulatto, with some approximation to the former, but not so near as to obliterate their origin. After these follow the Quarterones, proceeding from a white and a Terceron. The last are the Quinterones, who

who owe their origin to a white and a Quarteron. This is the last gradation, there being no visible difference between them and the whites, either in colour or features; nay, they are often even fairer than the Spaniards themselves. The children of a white and Quarteron are also called Spaniards, and consider themselves as free from all taint of the negroe race. Every person is so jealous of their tribe or cast, that if through any inadvertence, without the least intention to affront, you call them by a degree lower than what they actually are, they are highly offended.

Before they attain the class of the Quinterones, there are several intervening circumstances which throw them back; for between the Mulatto and the negro, there is an intermediate race, which they call Sambos, owing their origin to a mixture between one of these with an Indian, or among themselves. They are also distinguished according to the casts their fathers were of. Betwixt the Tercerones and the Mulattos, the Quarterones and the Tercerones, &c. are those called Tente en el Ayre, suspended in the air, because they neither advance nor recede. Children whose parents are a Quarteron or Quinteron, and a Mulatto or Terceron, are Salto atras, retrogrades; because instead of advancing toward being whites, they have gone backwards towards the negro race. All the children between a negro and a Quarteron, are called Sambos de Negro, de Mulatto, de Terceron, &c.

These are the most known and common tribes or casts; there are indeed several others proceeding from their intermarriages; but being so various, even they themselves cannot easily distinguish them.

These casts, from the Mulattos, all affect the Spanish dress, but wear very slight stuffs on account of the heat of the climate. These are the mechanics of the city; the whites, whether Creoles or Chapitones, disdaining such mean occupations, follow nothing below merchandize. But it being impossible for all to succeed, great numbers not being able to procure suf-

ficient credit, become poor and miserable from their aversion to those trades they follow in Europe; and instead of the riches, which they flattered themselves with possessing in the Indies, they experience the most complicated wretchedness.

The class of Negroes is divided into two parts, the free men and the slaves; the latter are employed in the farms and villages, and part in the city. Those in the city are obliged to perform the most laborious services, and pay out of their wages, a certain quota to their masters, subsisting themselves on the small remainder. The violence of the heat not permitting them to wear any cloaths, their only covering is a small piece of cotton stuff about their waist; the female slaves go in the same manner. Some of these live at the farm houses, being married to the slaves who work there; while those in the city sell in the markets all kinds of eatables and dry fruits, sweetmeats, cakes made of maize and cassava, and several other things about the streets. Those who have children sucking at their breasts, carry them on their shoulders, in order to have their arms at liberty; and when the infant is hungry, they give them the breast either under the arm, or over the shoulder, without taking them from their backs. This will perhaps appear incredible, but their breasts being left to grow without any pressure on them, often hang down to their very waist.

In the house the whole exercise of the ladies consists in sitting in their hammocks, and swinging themselves for air. This is so general a custom, that there is not a house without two or three, according to the number of the family. In these they pass the greater part of the day; and often men, as well as women, sleep in them, without minding the inconveniency of not stretching the body at full length.

Both sexes are observed to be possessed of a great share of wit and penetration, and also of a genius proper to excel in all kinds of mechanic arts. This is particularly

particularly conspicuous in those who apply themselves to literature, and who, at a tender age, shew a judgment and perspicacity, which, in other climates, is attained only by a long series of years and the greatest application. This happy disposition continues till they are between twenty and thirty years of age, after which they generally decline as fast as they rose; and frequently before they arrive at that age, when they should begin to reap the advantage of their studies, a natural indolence checks their farther progress, and they forsake the sciences, leaving the surprising effects of their capacity imperfect.

The principal cause of the short duration of such promising beginnings, and of the indolent turn so often seen in these bright geniuses, is doubtless the want of proper objects for exercising their faculties, and the small hopes of being preferred to any post answerable to the pains they have taken: for as there is in this country neither army nor navy, and the civil employments very few, it is not at all surprising, that the despair of making their fortunes by this method should damp their ardor for excelling in the sciences, and plunge them into idleness, the sure forerunner of vice; where they lose the use of their reason, and stifle those good principles which fired them when young and under proper subjection. The same is evident in the mechanic arts; wherein they early excel, and speedily decline, from the causes already mentioned.

Charity is a virtue in which all the inhabitants of Carthage, without exception, may be said particularly to excel; and did they not liberally exert it towards European strangers, who generally come hither, as they phrase it, to seek their fortune, they would often perish with sickness and poverty. This appears a subject of such importance, though well known to all who have visited this part of the world, that a word or two must be added on it, in order to undeceive those who, not contented with perhaps a competent estate in their own country, imagine that

it is only setting their foot in the Indies, and their fortune is made.

Those on board of the galleons who are called Pulizones, are men without employment, stock, or recommendation; who leave their country as fugitives, and, without licence from the officers, come to seek their fortune in a country, where they are utterly unknown. These, after traversing the streets till they have nothing left to procure them lodging or food, are reduced to have recourse to the last extremity, the Franciscan hospital, where they receive not in a quantity sufficient to satisfy hunger, but barely to keep them alive, a kind of pap made of cassava; which, as the natives themselves will not eat it, the taste, to wretched mortals never used to such food, may be easily conceived. As this is their food, so their lodging is the entrance of the squares, and the portico's of churches, till their good fortune throws them in the way of hiring themselves to some trader going up the country, and who wants a servant: for the city merchants, standing in no need of them, shew no great countenance to these adventurers, as they may very justly be called. Affected by the difference of the climate, aggravated by bad food, dejected and tortured by the entire disappointment of their romantic hopes, they fall into a thousand evils, which cannot well be represented; and among others, that distemper called at Carthagená, Chapelanada, or the distemper of the Chapitones, without any other succour to fly to than Divine Providence; for none find admittance into the hospital of St. Juan de Dios, but those who are able to pay; and consequently poverty becomes an absolute exclusion. Now it is that the charity of these people becomes conspicuous. The Negro and Mulatto and other free women, moved at their deplorable condition, carry them to their houses, and nurse them with the greatest care and affection. If any one die, they bury him by the charity they procure, and even cause masses to be said for him. The
general

general issue of this endearing benevolence is, that the Chapitone, on his recovery, during the fervour of his gratitude, marries either his Negro or Mulatto benefactress, or one of her daughters; and thus he is settled, but much more wretchedly than he could have been in his own country, though he had only his labour to subsist on.

The disinterestedness of these people is such, that their compassion toward the Chapitones must not be imputed to the hopes of producing a marriage, it being very common for them to refuse offers with regard to themselves or their daughters, that their misery may not be perpetual; but endeavour to find them a master, whom they may attend up the country, whither their inclination or the fairest prospects lead them.

Those who remain in the city, whether bound by one of the above marriages, or become watermen and labourers, or such like mean occupations, are so harassed with labour, and their wages so small, that their condition in their own country must have been miserable indeed, if they have not reason to regret their quitting it. And the height of their enjoyment, after toiling all day and part of the night, is to regale themselves with some bananas, a cake of maize, or casava, which serves for bread, and a slice of casajo, or hung beef; without ever tasting any wheat bread during the whole year.

Others, and not a few, equally unfortunate with the former, retire to some small farm-house, where in a bujio, or straw hut, they live little different from beasts, cultivating, in a very small spot, such vegetables as are at hand, and subsisting on the sale of them.

Among the reigning customs here, some are very different from those of Spain, or the most known parts of Europe. The principal of these are the use of brandy, cacao, honey, sweetmeats, and smoaking tobacco, which shall be taken notice of in their proper places.

The use of brandy is so common, that the most regular and sober persons of all degrees never omit drinking a glass of it every morning about eleven o'clock, alleging that this spirit strengthens the stomach, weakened by copious and constant perspiration, and sharpens the appetite. *Hacer las once*, to do the eleven, that is, to drink a glass of brandy, is the common phrase. This custom, not esteemed pernicious by these people when used with moderation, has degenerated into vice; many being so fond of it, that during the whole day, they do nothing but *hacer las once*.

Chocolate, here known only by the name of cacao, is so common, that there is not a negro slave but constantly allows himself a regale of it after breakfast; and the negro women sell it ready made about the streets, at the rate of a quarter of a real (about five farthings sterling) for a dish. This is however so far from being all cacao, that the principal ingredient is maize; but that used by the better sort is neat, and worked as in Spain. This they constantly repeat an hour after dinner, but never use it fasting, or without eating something with it. They also make a great use of sweetmeats and honey; never so much as drinking a glass of water without previously eating some sweetmeats. Honey is often preferred as the sweeter, to conserves or other sweetmeats, either wet or dry. Their sweetmeats are eaten with wheat bread, which they use only with these and chocolate; the honey they spread on cassava cakes.

The passion for smoaking is no less universal, prevailing among persons of all ranks in both sexes. The ladies and other white women smoak only in their houses; a decency not observed either by the women of the other casts, nor by the men in general, who regard neither time nor place. The manner of using it is, by slender rolls composed of the leaves of that plant; and the women have a particular method of inhaling the smoak. They put the lighted part of the roll

roll into their mouths, and there continue it a long time, without its being quenched, or the fire incommoding them. A compliment paid to those for whom they profess an intimacy and esteem, is to light their tobacco for them, and to hand them around to those who visit them. To refuse the offer would be a mark of rudeness not easily digested; and accordingly they are very cautious of paying this compliment to any but those whom they previously know to be used to tobacco.

One of the most favourite amusements of the natives here, is a ball, or fandango, after the manner of the country. And these are the distinguished rejoicings on festivals and remarkable days. But while the galleons, guarda-costas, or other Spanish ships are here, they are most common, and at the same time conducted with the least order; the crews of the ships forcing themselves into their ball-rooms. These diversions, in houses of distinction, are conducted in a very regular manner; they open with Spanish dances, and are succeeded by those of the country, which are not without spirit and gracefulness.

The fandangos, or balls of the populace, consist principally in drinking brandy and wine, intermixed with indecent and scandalous motions and gestures; and these continual rounds of drinking soon give rise to quarrels, which often bring on misfortunes. When any strangers of rank visit the city, they are generally at the expence of these balls; and as the entrance is free to all, and no want of liquor, they need give themselves no concern about the want of company.

Their burials and mournings are also something singular, as in this particular they endeavour to display their grandeur and dignity, too often at the expence of their tranquillity. If the deceased be a person of condition, his body is placed on a pompous catafalco, erected on the principal apartment of the house, amidst a blaze of tapers. In this manner the corpse lies twenty-four hours or longer, for the acquaintance

of the family to visit it at all hours ; and likewise the lower class of women, among whom it is a custom to come and lament the deceased. The funeral also is accompanied with the like noisy lamentations ; and even after the corpse is deposited in the grave, the mourning is continued in the house for nine days.

The French mathematicians arrived at Carthagena on the sixteenth of November, 1735, where they were joined by the Spanish artists ; and on the 24th they all embarked on board a French frigate for Porto-bello. The passage was very short and pleasant ; so that on the 29th of the same month they came to an anchor in Porto-bello harbour.

The town of St. Philip de Porto-bello, according to their observations, stands in 9 deg. 34 min. 35 seconds north latitude ; and by the observations of father Feuillee, in the longitude of 82 deg. 10 min. W. from the meridian of Paris. This harbour was discovered on the second of November 1502 by Christopher Columbus, who was so charmed with its extent, depth, and security, that he gave it the name of Porto-Bello, or the fine harbour.

The town stands near the sea, on the declivity of a mountain surrounding the whole harbour. Many of the houses are built with wood, but in some the first story is of stone, and the remainder of wood. They are about 130 in number, and most of them large and spacious. It is under the jurisdiction of a governor, with the title of lieutenant-general, under the president of Panama. At the east end of the town is a quarter called Guinea, because there all the negroes, whether slaves or free, have their habitations. This quarter is much crowded when the galleons are in the harbour, most of the inhabitants of the town entirely quitting their houses at that season, for the advantage of letting them, while others content themselves with a small part, in order to make money of the rest.

In a large track between the town and Gloria castle, barracks are erected, and principally filled with the ships

ships crews; who keep stalls of sweetmeats, and other kind of eatables, brought from Spain. But after the conclusion of the fair, when the ships are sailed, all those buildings are taken down, and the town returns to its former tranquillity and emptiness.

The harbour of Porto Bello is extremely commodious for all sorts of ships or vessels; and, though its entrance is very wide, it is well defended by fort St. Philip de todo Fierro. It stands on the north point of the entrance, which is about six hundred fathoms, or something less than the fourth part of a league broad; but the south side being full of rises of rocks, extending to some distance from the shore, a ship is obliged to stand to the north, through the deepest part of the channel, which lies in the middle of the entrance, and thus continues in a straight direction, having nine, ten, or fifteen fathom water, and a bottom of clayey mud mixed with chalk and sand.

On the south side of the harbour, and opposite to the anchoring place, is a large castle, called Santo Jago de la Gloria; to the east of which, at the distance of about an hundred fathoms, begins the town, having before it a point of land projecting into the harbour. On this point stood a small fort called St. Jerom, within ten toises of the houses. All these were demolished by admiral Vernon, who in 1739 made himself master of this port.

Among the mountains which surround the whole harbour of Porto Bello, beginning from St. Philip de todo Fierro, or the iron Castle, and without any decrease of height, extends to the opposite point, one is particularly remarkable by its superior altitude, as if designed for the barometer of the country, by foretelling every change of weather. This mountain, distinguished by the name of Capiro, stands at the utmost extremity of the harbour, in the road to Panama. Its top is always covered with clouds of a density and darkness seldom seen in this atmosphere; and from these, which are called the capillo, or cap, has possibly

been corruptly formed the name of Monte Capiro. When these clouds thicken, increase their blackness, and sink below their usual station, it is a sure sign of a tempest: while, on the other hand, their clearness and ascent, as certainly indicate the approach of fair weather. It must however be remembered, that these changes are very frequent, and almost instantaneous.

The jurisdiction of the lieutenant-general governor of Porto Bello, is limited to the town and the forts; the neighbouring country, over which it might be extended, being full of mountains, covered with impenetrable forests, except a few valleys, in which are thinly scattered some small farms.

The inclemency of the climate of Porto Bello is sufficiently known all over Europe. Not only strangers who come thither are affected by it, but even the natives themselves suffer in various manners. It destroys the vigour of nature, and often untimely cuts the thread of life. The heat is excessive, being augmented by the situation of the town, which is surrounded with high mountains, without any interval for the winds, whereby it might be refreshed. The trees on these mountains stand so thick as to intercept the rays of the sun; and consequently hinder them from drying the earth under them: hence copious exhalations form large clouds, and precipitate in violent torrents of rain. But these are no sooner over, than the sun breaks forth afresh, and shines with his former splendor; though scarce has the activity of his rays dried the surface of the ground, not covered by the trees, than the atmosphere is again clouded by another collection of thick vapours, and the sun again concealed; and in this manner it continues during the whole day: the night is also subject to the same vicissitudes.

These torrents of rain, which by their suddenness and impetuosity seem to threaten a second deluge, are accompanied with such tempests of thunder and lightning, as must daunt the most resolute. To this may
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be added the howlings and shrieks of the multitudes of monkeys of all kinds, which live in the forests of the mountains, and which are never louder, than when a man of war fires the morning and evening gun, though they are so much used to it.

This continual inclemency, added to the fatigue of the seamen in unloading the ships, renders them weak and faint; and they, in order to recruit their spirits, have recourse to brandy, of which there is, on these occasions, an incredible consumption. The excessive labour, immoderate drink, and the inclemency and unhealthfulness of the climate, must jointly destroy the best constitutions, and produce those deleterious diseases so common in this country. But it is not the seamen alone who are subject to these diseases; others who are strangers to the seas, and not concerned in the fatigues, are also attacked by them; and, consequently, is a sufficient demonstration that the other two are only collateral, though they tend both to spread and inflame the distemper. On some occasions, physicians have been sent for from Carthagena, as being supposed to be better acquainted with the properest methods of curing the distempers of this country, and consequently more able to recover the seamen: but experience has shewn, that this intention has been so little answered, that the galleons, or other European ships, which stay any time here, seldom leave it, without burying half, or at least one third of their men; and hence this city has with too much reason been termed the grave of the Spaniards; but it may with much greater propriety be applied to those of other nations who visit it.

The number of the inhabitants of Porto Bello, by reason of its smallness, and the inclemency of its climate, is very inconsiderable, and the greatest part of these are negroes and mulattoes, there being scarce thirty white families; for all who by commerce or their estates are in easy circumstances, remove to Panama, so that those only stay at Porto Bello whose employment oblige them to it.

Provisions are scarce at Porto Bello, and consequently dear, particularly during the time of the galleons and the fair, when there is a necessity for a supply from Carthagena and Panama. The only thing in plenty here is fish, of which there is a great variety, and very good. It also abounds in sugar-canes, so that the chacaras, or farm houses, if indeed they deserve that name, are built of them. They have also sugar-works, where sugar, molasses, and rum, are made.

Fresh water pours down in streams from the mountains, some running without the town, and others crossing it. These waters are very light and digestive, and, in those who are used to them, good to create an appetite; qualities which, in other countries, would be very valuable, but are here pernicious. This country seems so cursed by nature, that what is in itself good, becomes here destructive. For doubtless this water is too fine and active for the stomachs of the inhabitants; and thus produces dysenteries, the last stage of all other distempers, and which the patient very seldom survives. The rivulets, in their descent from the mountains, form little reservoirs or ponds, whose coolness is increased by the shade of the trees; and in these all the inhabitants of the town bathe themselves constantly every day at eleven in the morning: and the Europeans fail not to follow an example so pleasant and conducive to health.

As the forests almost border on the houses of the town, the tigers often make incursions into the streets during the night, carrying off fowls, dogs, and other domestic creatures; and sometimes even boys have fallen a prey to them; and it is certain that ravenous beasts, after tasting human flesh, prefer it to all other. Beside the snares usually laid for them, the negroes and mulattoes, who sell wood in the forests of the mountains, are very dexterous in encountering the tiger; and some even on account of the slender reward, seek them in their retreats. The arms in this
onset,

onset, seemingly so dangerous, are only a lance of two or three yards in length, made of a very strong wood, with the point of the same hardened in the fire; and a kind of cimeter about three quarters of a yard in length. Thus armed they stay till the creature makes an assault on the left arm, which holds the lance, and is wrapped up in a short cloak of bays. Sometimes the tiger, aware of the danger, seems to decline the combat; but his antagonist provokes him with a slight touch of the lance, in order, while he is defending himself, to strike a sure blow: for as soon as the creature feels the lance, he grasps it with one of his paws, and with the other strikes at the arm which holds it. Then it is that the person nimbly aims a blow with his cimeter, which he kept concealed in the other hand, and hamstringing the tiger, which immediately draws back enraged, but returns to the charge; when receiving another such stroke, is totally deprived of his most dangerous weapons, and rendered incapable of moving. After which the person kills him at his leisure; and stripping off his skin, cutting off the head, and the fore and hind feet, returns to the town, displaying those as the trophies of his victory.

Among the great variety of animals in this country, one of the most remarkable is the *Perico Ligero*, or nimble Peter, an ironical name given it on account of its extreme sluggishness and sloth. It resembles a middling monkey in shape, but of a wretched appearance, the skin of it being of a greyish brown, and all over corrugated, and the legs and feet without any hair. He is so lumpish as not to stand in need of either chain or hutch; for he never stirs till compelled by hunger; and shews no manner of apprehension either of men or wild beasts. When he moves, every effort is attended with such a plaintive, and at the same time so disagreeable a cry, as at once produces pity and disgust; and this even in the slightest motion of the head, legs, or feet; proceeding probably from
a general

a general contraction of the muscles and nerves of his body, which puts him to an extreme pain when he endeavours to move them. In this disagreeable cry consists his whole defence; for, it being natural to him to fly at the first hostile approach of any beast, he makes at every motion such howlings as are even insupportable to his pursuer, who soon quits him, and even flies beyond the hearing of his horrid noise. Nor is it only during the time he is in motion that he makes these cries; he repeats them while he rests himself, continuing a long time motionless before he takes another march. The food of this creature is generally wild fruits; and when he can find none on the ground, he looks out for a tree well loaded, which with a great deal of pains he climbs; and in order to save himself such another toilsome ascent, plucks off all the fruit, throwing them on the ground: and to avoid the pain of descending the tree, forms himself into a ball, and drops from the branches. At the foot of this tree he continues till all the fruit are consumed, never stirring till hunger forces him to seek again for food.

Serpents here are very numerous, and very destructive. Toads also swarm, not only in the damp and marshy places, as in other countries, but even in the streets, courts of houses, and all open places in general. When it has rained in the night, the streets and squares in the morning seem paved with these reptiles; so that you cannot step without treading on them, which sometimes is productive of troublesome bites; for beside their poison, they are large enough for their teeth to be severely felt. At the same time, there are such numbers of them, that nothing can be imagined more dismal than their croakings, during the night, in all parts of the town, woods, and caverns of the mountains.

The town of Porto Bello, so thinly inhabited by reason of its noxious air, the scarcity of provisions, and the barrenness of its soil, becomes, at the time of the galleons, one of the most populous places in all
South

South America. Its situation on the isthmus, betwixt the south and north sea, the goodness of its harbour, and its small distance from Panama, have given it the preference for the rendezvous of the joint commerce of Spain and Peru at its fair.

On advice being received at Carthagena, that the Peru fleet has unloaded at Panama, the galleons make the best of their way to Porto Bello, in order to avoid the distempers which have their source from idleness. The concourse of people on this occasion is such, as to raise the rent of lodgings to an excessive degree; a middling chamber, with a closet, lets, during the fair, for a thousand crowns, and some large houses for four, five, or six thousand.

As soon as the ships are moored in the harbour, a square tent covered with the ship's sails is erected for receiving the cargo; at the landing of which the proprietors of the goods are present, in order to claim their own bales. These are drawn on sledges to their respective places by the crew of every ship.

While the seamen and European traders are thus employed, the land is covered with droves of mules from Panama, loaded with chests of gold and silver on account of the merchants of Peru: yet, notwithstanding all this hurry and confusion, no theft, loss, or disturbance, is ever known. He who has seen Porto Bello at other times, solitary, poor, and a perpetual silence reigning every where, the harbour quite empty, and every place wearing a melancholy aspect, must be filled with astonishment at the sudden change, to see the bustling multitudes, every house crowded, the square and streets encumbered with bales, and chests of gold and silver, and the harbour full of ships and vessels. In short, he will see a spot, at other times detested for its deleterious qualities, become the staple of the riches of the old and new world, and the scene of one of the most considerable branches of commerce in the whole earth.

Soon after the Spanish and French mathematicians
arrived

arrived at Porto Bello, they sent advice of it to the president of Panama, requesting him to send some of the vessels used in the navigation of the river Chagre to carry them to Panama; as their instruments rendered it impossible for them to travel through the narrow craggy roads leading from Porto Bello to that city. He readily complied with their request, and immediately dispatched two vessels to Porto Bello; on board which they all embarked on the 22d of December, and rowed out of Porto Bello harbour, and at four in the evening landed at the custom-house at the mouth of the river Chagre.

This river has its source in the mountains near the town of Cruces. Its entrance at the north sea is defended by a fort situated on a steep rock near the sea-shore, on the east side of the river. About twenty yards from this fort is the town of San Lorenzo de Chagres.

The barks employed on this river are of two kinds, the chatos and bongos. The former are, like the European vessels, composed of several pieces of timber; but of a greater breadth, that they may draw but little water: they carry from seven to eight hundred quintals. The latter are formed out of one piece of wood; and it is astonishing to think there should be trees of such a prodigious magnitude, some of them being eleven Paris feet broad, and carry conveniently four or five hundred quintals. Both sorts have a cabin at the stern for the convenience of passengers, and a kind of awning, supported by wooden stanchions, reaching to the head. Each of these require, beside the pilot, eighteen or twenty robust negroes at least; as it would be otherwise impossible to make any way against the current.

Perhaps nothing can excel the prospects which the rivers of this country exhibit. The most fertile imagination of a painter can never equal the magnificence of the rural landscapes which are here to be seen. The groves, which shade the plains, and extend their
branches

branches to the river, are inhabited by an infinite variety of creatures. The different species of monkeys, skipping in troops from tree to tree, hanging from the branches; in other places six or eight of them linked together in order to pass a river, the dams with their young on their shoulders, throwing themselves into odd postures, and making a thousand grimaces, will perhaps appear fictitious to those who have never seen them. But if the birds be added, our reason for admiration will be greatly increased: for here are an amazing abundance, whose plumage glitters with all the colours of the rainbow.

On their arrival at Cruces, they were entertained by the alcalde of the town; and on the 27th set out on their journey to Panama, which they reached in the evening. They first waited on the president, who received them all in the most cordial and endearing manner.

Some indispensable preparations detained them longer at Panama than they expected. But at length every difficulty being surmounted, they embarked in the bay of Panama, and directed their course towards the river Guiaquil.

Panama is built on an isthmus of the same name, the coast of which is washed by the South-Sea. From the observations those mathematicians made here, the latitude of this city appears to be 8 deg. 5 min. 48 and a half seconds north. With regard to its longitude, it is still doubtful, whether it is on the east or west side of the meridian of Porto Bello. The French geographers will have it to lie on the east side, and accordingly have placed it so in their maps; but, in those of the Spaniards, it is on the west side: and perhaps the latter may be concluded to have a more intimate knowledge of their respective situations.

The houses in general, when our artists visited this city, were of wood, but of one story, and a tiled roof, but large; and their disposition, and the symmetry of their windows, made a handsome appearance: a few

were of stone. The streets both of the city and suburb are straight, broad, and, for the most part, paved.

Though the greatest part of the houses were formerly of wood, fires were rarely known at Panama; the nature of the timber being such, that if any fire is laid on the floor, or placed against a wall, it is productive of no other consequence than that of making a hole, without kindling into a flame, and the fire is extinguished by the ashes. But notwithstanding this excellent quality of the wood, in the year 1737, the city was almost entirely consumed; the goodness of the timber being unable to secure it from the ravages of the flames.

In this city is a tribunal or royal audience, in which the governor of Panama presides; and to this employment is annexed the captainship-general of Terra Firma, which is generally conferred on an officer of distinction, though his common title is that of president of Panama. It is a bishopric, and has also a court of inquisition appointed by the tribunal of inquisition at Carthagena.

The harbour of this city is formed in its road, by the shelter of several islands, particularly Isla de Naos, de Perico, and Flamencos; and the anchoring place is before the second, and thence called Perico. The ships here lie very safe; and their distance from the city is about two leagues and a half, or three leagues.

The variation of the magnetic needle in the road is 7 deg. 39 min. easterly. Both the road and the whole coast abound in a great variety of excellent fish, among which are two kinds of oysters, one smaller than the other; but the smallest are much the best.

At the bottom of the sea are a great number of pearls; and the oysters in which they are found are remarkably delicious. This kind of fishery is of great advantage to the inhabitants of all the islands in this bay.

The harbour of Perico is the rendezvous of the
Peru

Peru fleet, during the time of the fair; and is never without barks loaded with provisions from the ports of Peru, and a great number of coasting vessels going from thence to Choco, and parts on the western coast of that kingdom.

The winds are the same as along the whole coast; the currents are stronger near the islands than at a distance from them; but no general rule can be given with regard to their course, that depending on the place where the ship is, with regard to the channels which they form. They also vary in the same place according to the winds.

The inhabitants of Panama greatly resemble those of Carthagena in their dispositions, except in their being more parsimonious, and more designing: the women imitate the dress of the ladies of Peru. They wear girdles, and five or six chaplets or rows of fine beads about their necks, together with two or more gold chains, having some relics appendant from them. Round their arms they wear bracelets of gold, and strings of pearls, corals, and beugles.

Provisions of all kinds are very dear in this city and its district, occasioned by the large quantity required, and the great distance which they are brought; but is amply compensated by the multitude and value of the pearls found in the oysters of the gulph; and particularly those near the islands del Rey Tabago, and others to the number of forty-three, forming a small archipelago. There are few persons of substance near Panama, who do not employ all, or at least part of their slaves in this fishery; the manner of which not being commonly known, it will not be improper to describe it here.

The owners of the negroes employ the most proper persons for this fishery; which being performed at the bottom of the sea, they must be both expert swimmers, and capable of holding their breath a long time. These they send to the islands, where they have huts built for their lodgings and boats, which

hold eight, ten or twenty negroes, under the command of an officer. In these boats they go to such parts as are known to produce pearls, and where the depth of the water is not above ten, twelve, or fifteen fathom. Here they come to an anchor, and the negroes having a rope fastened round their bodies, and the other end to the side of the boat, they take with them a small weight to accelerate their sinking, and plunge into the water. On reaching the bottom they take up an oyster, which they put under the left arm; the second they hold in their left hand, and the third in their right: with these three oysters, and sometimes another in their mouth, they rise to breathe, and put them in a bag. When they have rested themselves a while and recovered their breath, they dive a second time; and thus continue, till they have either compleated their task, or strength fails them. Every one of those negroe divers, is obliged daily to deliver his master a certain fixed number of pearls; so that when they have got the requisite number of oysters in their bag, they begin to open them, and deliver the pearls to the officer till they have made up the number due to their master. The remainder are the property of the negroes.

Beside the toil of this fishery, from the oysters strongly adhering to the rocks, they are also in no small danger from some kinds of fish, which either seize the negroes, or by striking on them, crush them to the bottom. The fishery on the whole coast is obnoxious to the same danger from those fish, but they are much more frequent where such riches abound. The taburones, and tintoretas, which are of an enormous size, feed on the bodies of these unfortunate fishermen; and the mantas, or quilts, either press them to death by wrapping their fins about them, or crush them with their prodigious weight. The name Manta has not been improperly given to this fish, either with regard to its figure or property; for being broad and long like a quilt, it wraps its fins round

round a man, or any other animal that happens to come within its reach, and immediately squeezes it to death. This fish resembles a thornback in shape, but is prodigiously larger.

Every negroe, to defend himself against these animals, carries with him a sharp knife, with which, if the fish offers to assault him, he endeavours to strike it in a part where it has no power to hurt him; on which the fish immediately flies. The officers keep a watchful eye on these voracious creatures, and on discovering them, shake the rope fastened to the negroes bodies, that they may be upon their guard. Many, on the diver's being in danger, have thrown themselves into the water with the like weapon, and hastened down to their defence; but too often all their dexterity and precaution are not sufficient to protect the diver from being devoured by these fish, or losing one of his limbs by their bite.

Beside these pearls, the kingdom of Terra Firma was formerly equally remarkable for the fine gold produced by the mines in its territories; and which consequently proved a very considerable addition to its riches. Part of these mines were in the province of Veraguas, others in that of Panama; but most, also the richest, and whose metal was of the finest quality, were in the province of Darien: and, on that account, the constant objects of the miners. But the Indians revolting, and making themselves masters of the whole province, there was a necessity for abandoning these mines, by which means the greatest part of them were lost; a few only remaining on the frontiers, which still yield a small quantity of gold.

Though the mines of Veraguas and Panama are not exposed to these dangers, yet they are not worked with more vigour than the others; and this for two reasons. The first is, that beside their being less rich in metal than the others, the gold they yield is not of so good a quality as that of Darien; the second, and indeed the most weighty, is, that these

seas, by their rich produce of pearls, offer a more certain, and at the same time a more easy profit.

Among the creatures eaten by the inhabitants of Panama, is an amphibious creature called guana. It resembles a lizard in shape, but is considerably larger, being generally about a yard in length. It is of a yellowish green colour, but of a lighter yellow on the belly than on the back, where the green predominates. It has four legs like a lizard, but its claws are much longer in proportion: they are jointed by a web which covers them, and is of the same form with those of geese, except that the talons at the ends of the toes are much longer, and project entirely out of the web or membrane. Its skin is covered with a thin scale adhering to it, and which renders it rough and hard; and from the crown of its head to the beginning of its tail, which is generally about half a yard, runs a line of vertical scales, each scale being from one to six lines in breadth, and three or four in length, separated so as to make a kind of saw: but from the end of the neck to the root of the tail, the scales gradually lessen, so that they are scarce visible at the latter part. Its belly is, in largeness, very disproportionate to its body; and its teeth are separated and very sharp pointed. On the water it rather walks than swims, being supported by the webs of its feet; and on that element its swiftness is amazing, being out of sight in an instant; whereas on the land, though far from moving heavily, its celerity is much less. When pregnant, its belly swells to an enormous size; and indeed they often lay sixty eggs at a time, each of which is about as large as that of a pigeon. These eggs are reckoned a great dainty in every part of America where the creature is found. The flesh of the guana is exceeding white, and greatly admired; but few Europeans can be persuaded to eat it.

Every thing being now ready for their departure, they embarked on board the *St. Christopher*, commanded by capt. Don Juan Manuel Morel, and the
9th

9th of March, about three in the evening, they came to an anchor in Manta bay; being desirous of viewing this coast, in order to know whether by forming their first base in one of its plains, the series of triangles could be continued to the mountains in the neighbourhood of Quito.

Accordingly they went on shore in the evening of the sixth, and repaired to the village of Monte Christo, about three leagues from the coast; but soon found that geometrical operations were impracticable there, the country being every where extremely mountainous, and almost wholly covered with prodigious trees, an insurmountable obstacle to any such design: they therefore determined to pursue their voyage to Guayaquil, and thence to Quito.

The bay of Manta was formerly remarkable for a considerable pearl fishery, but it has been discontinued for some time. The bay has probably its name from the great quantity of mantas in those parts, the Indian inhabitants being chiefly employed in taking that fish, which they salt and carry to the inland provinces. Europeans cannot help admiring their dexterity in this kind of fishery, which they carry on in the following manner: They throw into the water a log of wood, such as they use in making a balza, being about five or six yards in length, and near a foot in diameter. This log will be sufficient to support the weight intended, which consists of a net lying across one end of it, and an Indian standing in an erect position on the other. On this tottering vessel, assisted by only a single oar, he puts off to sea, about the distance of half a league, where he shoots his net. Another Indian follows him on a similar log, takes hold of the rope fastened to one end of the net, by which means the whole is expanded, and both the Indians move toward the land, where their partners wait to draw the net on shore. In this occupation the dexterity and agility of the Indians in maintaining an equilibrium on the round logs, is truly

amazing; for the continual agitation of the sea renders it absolutely necessary for them to be continually changing their position, and making different motions with their bodies: and what still heightens the difficulty is, that the Indian is at the same time obliged to mind both his oar and his net, in drawing it toward the land. They do indeed sometimes, though very seldom, slip off their logs; but being excellent swimmers, they recover their bark, and in an instant place themselves in their former posture.

On the thirteenth of March they left the bay of Manta, and coasted along shore, within the island de la Plata. On the 18th they anchored in the mouth of the river Tumbez, where they remained till the 20th; when at six in the morning they got under sail, and on the 25th, at five in the evening, landed at Guiaquil, which stands in $2^{\circ} 11' 21''$ S. Lat.

Guiaquil is of considerable extent, taking up, along the banks of the river from the lower part of the old town to the upper part of the new, a space of near half a league; but the breadth is not at all proportional, every person being fond of having a house near the river. All the houses of both towns are built of wood, and many of them covered with tiles; though the greatest part of those in the old town are only thatched: but in order to prevent the spreading of fires, by which this city has severely suffered on several occasions, such covering is now prohibited. Most of these conflagrations owed their rise to the malevolence of the negroes, in order to revenge some punishments inflicted on them by their masters. As a farther precaution against fire, which they have so much reason to dread, the kitchens stand twelve or fifteen paces from the houses; with which they communicate by means of a long open gallery, resembling a bridge; but so slightly built, that, on the least appearance of fire in the kitchen, it is demolished in an instant: by which means the house is preserved.

The ground on which the new city is built, and the

the savannahs in its neighbourhood, are not to be travelled over either on foot or horseback during the winter; for being a spongy chalk, it is every where so level, that there is no declivity for carrying off the water: and therefore on the first rain it becomes a general slough. In this respect the old town has the advantage, being built on a gravelly soil, which is never impassable. This city is defended by three forts; two on the river near the city, and the third behind it, guarding the entrance of a ravin. These are all built after the modern method of fortification; but before they were erected, it had only a platform, which is still remaining in the old town. All the churches and convents are of wood, except that of St. Domingo, still standing in the old town, which is of stone: the great solidity of the ground in that part being sufficient for supporting buildings of this kind.

The city and its jurisdiction are under a corregidor, nominated by the king, who holds his office during five years. Notwithstanding he is subordinate to the president and audience of Quito, he appoints the deputies in the several departments of his jurisdiction, and for the police and civil government. The ecclesiastical government is lodged in the bishop of Quito's vicar, who is generally also the priest of the town. Guayaquil contains, in proportion to its dimensions, as many inhabitants as any city in all America; the continual resort of strangers drawn thither by commerce, contributing very greatly to increase the number, generally computed at twenty thousand.

Though the heat here is equal to that of Panama or Carthage, yet the climate distinguishes itself in the colour of the human species; and if a certain author has styled it the equinoctial low countries, in allusion to the resemblance it bears to the Netherlands of Europe; it may, with equal propriety, bear that appellation from this singularity, namely, that all the natives, except those born from a mixture of blood, are fresh coloured, and so finely featured, as justly to

be called the handsomest, both in the province of Quito, and even in all Peru. To these personal advantages bestowed by nature in a distinguished manner on the inhabitants, it has added the no less pleasing charms of elegance and politeness.

From the commerce of this city a stranger would imagine it richer than it actually is. This is partly owing to the two dreadful pillages it has suffered, and partly to fires; by both which it has been totally ruined. Europeans who have raised any thing of a fortune here, when they have no immoveable goods to detain them, retire to Lima, or some other city of Peru, where they may improve their stocks with greater security.

The cacao tree abounds in this district, and is generally not less than eighteen or twenty feet high. It begins from the ground to divide itself into four or five stems, according to the vigour of the root, from whence they all proceed. They are generally between four and seven inches in diameter; but their first growth is in an oblique direction, so that the branches are all expanded and separated from one another. The length of the leaf is between four and six inches, and its breadth three or four. It is very smooth, soft, and terminates in a point, like that of the China orange tree, but with some difference in colour; the former being of a dull green, and has nothing of the gloss observable on the latter: nor is the tree so full of leaves as that of the orange. From the stem, as well as the branches, grow the pods which contain the cacao. The first appearance is a white blossom, not very large, whose pistil contains the embryo of the pod, which grows to the length of six or seven inches, and four or five in breadth, resembling a cucumber in shape; and striated in a longitudinal direction, but deeper than the cucumber.

The colour of the pod while growing is green, nearly resembling that of the leaf; but when arrived at its full perfection, it gradually changes to a yellow. The shell which covers it is thin, smooth and clear.

When

When the fruit is arrived at its full growth, it is gathered; and being cut into slices, its pulp appears white and juicy, with small seeds, regularly arranged, and at that time of no greater consistence than the rest of the pulp, but whiter, and contained in a very fine delicate membrane; full of liquor resembling milk, but transparent, and something viscid: at this time it may be eaten like any other fruit. Its taste is a sweetish acid; but in this country is thought promotive of fevers. The yellowness of the pod indicates that the cacao begins to feed on its substance, to acquire a greater consistence, and that the seeds begins to fill, the colour gradually fading till they are fully compleated; when the dark brown colour of the shell into which the yellow has deviated, indicates the proper time to gather it. The thickness of the shell is now about two lines, and each seed found inclosed in one of the compartments formed by the transverse membranes of the pod. After gathering the fruit, it is opened, and the seeds taken out and laid on skins kept for that purpose; or more generally in vijaua leaves, and left in the air to dry.

This tree produces its fruit twice a-year, and in the same plenty and goodness. The quantity gathered throughout the whole jurisdiction of Guiaquil amounts at least to 50,000 cargoes.

The cacao trees delight so excessively in water, that the ground where they are planted must be reduced to a mire; and if not carefully supplied with water they die. They must also be planted in the shade, or at least defended from the perpendicular rays of the sun. Accordingly they are always placed near other larger trees, under the shelter of which they grow and flourish.

The navigable part of the river of Guiaquil extends from the city to the custom-house at Babahoyo, the place where the goods are landed. This distance measured on the surface of the water, between Guiaquil and the custom-house of Babahoyo, is twenty-four

four leagues and a half; and to Caracol, the landing place in winter, twenty-eight and a half.

The tides, during the summer-time, reach up to the custom-house, checking the velocity of the current, and consequently causing the waters to swell; but in winter, the current being stronger and more rapid, the increase of the water is visible only in the reaches near Guiaquil: and in three or four different times of the year, the great velocity of the current render the tides imperceptible.

The principal cause of the swellings of this river arises from the torrents rushing down from the Cordillera. For though rain is frequent here, great part of the water is received by its lakes, or stagnates on the plains; so that the increase in the waters of the river are entirely owing to the torrents from the mountains.

The borders of this river, together with those of its creeks and canals, are decorated with country seats, and cottages of poor people of all casts, having here both the convenience of fishing and agriculture; and the intermediate spaces filled with such a variety of thickets, that art would find it difficult to imitate the delightful landscape here exhibited by nature.

The principal and most common materials used in building on these rivers, are canes: these also form the inward parts, as walls, floors, and rails of the stairs. The larger houses differ only in some of the principal pieces, which are of wood. The method of building is, to fix in the earth, eight, ten, or twelve pieces of wood, more or less, according to the dimensions of the house, forked at the top, and of a proper length; all the apartments being on the first story, without any ground floor. Beams are then laid across on these forks, at the distance of four or five yards from the ground. On these beams canes are laid in such a manner as to form a kind of rafters; and over these, boards of the same canes, a foot and
a half

a half in breadth, which form as firm and handsome a flooring as if of wood. The partitions of the several apartments are of the same materials; but the outer walls are generally latticed, for the free admission of the air. The principal beams of the roof of large houses are of timber, the rafters of cane, with smaller in a transverse direction, and over these vijaua leaves. Thus a house is built with very little expence, though containing all the necessary conveniences. With regard to the poorer sort, every one's own labour serves to procure him a habitation. The lower part, both of these houses, as well as those in the greatest part of the jurisdiction of Guiaquil, are entirely open, without having any fence, except the posts and stanchions by which the building is supported: the ground floor is wholly useless in the winter, when all the country is turned to mud. Such houses, however, as stand beyond the reach of inundations, have ground floors, finished like the other apartments.

All the inhabitants have their canoes for passing from one house to another; and are so dextrous in the management of these skiffs, that a little girl ventures alone in a boat so small and slight, that another less skilful would overset in stepping into it.

The continual rains in winter, and the slightness of the materials with which these houses are built, render it necessary to repair them during the summer; but those of the poorer sort, which are low, must be every year rebuilt, especially those parts which consist of cane, bujuco and vijaua, while the principal stanchions, which form the foundation, still continue serviceable, and able to receive the new materials.

The vessels used upon this river are, chatas, canoes, and balzas, or rafts, a name which sufficiently explains their construction, but not the method of managing them; which these Indians, strangers to arts and sciences, have learned from necessity.

The balzas, called by the Indians jangadas, are composed

composed of five, seven, or nine beams of a sort of wood, which, though known here only by the name of balza, the Indians of Darien call puero; and, in all appearance, is the ferula of the Latins, mentioned by Collumella. It is a whitish, soft wood, and so very light, that a boy can easily carry a log of it, three or four yards in length, and a foot in diameter.

Balzas are not only used on rivers, but small voyages are made at sea on them; and sometimes they go as far as Paita. Their dimensions being different, they are also applied to different uses; some of them being fishing balzas; some carry all sorts of goods from the custom-house to Guiaquil, and from thence to Puna, the Salto de Tumbez, and Paita; and others of a more curious and elegant construction, serve for removing families to their estates and country houses, having the same convenience as on shore, not being the least agitated on the river: and that they have sufficient room for accommodations, may be inferred from their length of the beams, which are twelve or fifteen fathoms, and about two feet, or two and a half diameter; so that the nine beams of which they consist, form a breadth of between twenty and twenty-four feet, and proportional in those of seven, or any other number of beams.

These beams are fastened or lashed together, so securely, that with the cross pieces at each end, which are also lashed with all possible strength, they resist the rapidity of the currents in their voyages to the coast of Tumbez and Paita. Though by their neglect in examining the condition of the bejucos, whether they are not rotten or worn, so as to require others, there are some melancholy instances of balzas, which in bad weather have separated, and by that means the cargo lost, and the passengers drowned. With regard to the Indians, they never fail of getting upon one of the beams, which is sufficient for them to make their way to the next port.

The thickest beam of those which compose the
balza

balza is placed so as to project beyond the other in its after-part, and to this is lashed the first beams on each side, and thus successively till the whole are secured; that in the middle being the principal piece, and thence the number of beams is always odd. The larger sort of balzas generally carry between four and five hundred quintals, without being damaged by the water; for the waves of the sea never run over the balza, neither does the water splash up between the beams, the balza always yielding to the motion of the waves.

Hitherto we have only mentioned the construction and uses they are applied to; but the greatest singularity of this floating vehicle is, that it sails, tacks, and works, as well in contrary winds, as ships with a keel, and makes very little lee-way. This advantage it derives from another method of steering than by a rudder; namely, by some boards, three or four yards in length, and half a yard in breadth, called *gueras*, which are placed vertically both in the head and stern, between the main beams, and by thrusting some of these deep in the water, and raising others, they bear away, luff up, tack, lay to, and perform all the other motions of a regular ship.

The increase of fish in this river is greatly hindered by the prodigious numbers of alligators: an amphibious creature, being both in the rivers and the adjacent plains; though it is not often known to go far from the banks of the river. When tired with swimming they leave the water to bask themselves in the sun, and then appear more like logs of rotten wood thrown ashore by the current, than living creatures: but upon perceiving any vessel near them, they immediately throw themselves into the water. Some are so large, as to exceed five yards in length. During the time they lie basking on the shore, they keep their huge mouths wide open, till filled with flies and other insects, when they suddenly shut their jaws, and swallow their prey. Whatever may have been
written

written with regard to the fierceness and rapacity of this animal, our company of artists found from experience that they avoid a man; and on the approach of any one, immediately plunge into the water. Its whole body is covered with scales impenetrable to a musket-ball, unless it happens to hit him in the belly, near the fore-legs, the only part vulnerable.

The alligator is an oviparous creature. The female makes a large hole in the sand near the brink of a river, and there deposits her eggs; which are nearly equal to those of an ostrich, and as white as those of a hen, but much more solid. She generally lays about a hundred, continuing in the same place till they are all deposited, which is a day or two. She then covers them with the sand; and the better to conceal them, rolls herself, not only over her precious depositum, but to a considerable distance. After this precaution she returns to the water, till natural instinct informs her, that it is time to deliver her young from their confinement, when she comes to the spot, followed by the male, and tearing up the sand, begins breaking the eggs; but so carefully, that scarce a single one is injured, and a whole swarm of little alligators are seen crawling about. The female then takes them into the water; but the watchful gallinazos, a large bird, very common in these parts, make use of this opportunity to deprive her of some: and even the male alligator, who indeed comes for no other end, devours what he can, till the female has reached the water with the remaining; for all those which either fall from her back, or do not swim, she herself eats; so that out of such a formidable brood, happily not more than four or five escape.

These alligators are the great destroyers of the fish in this river, it being their most safe and general food; nor are they wanting in address to satisfy their desires: eight or ten, as it were by compact, draw up at the mouth of a river, or creek, whilst others of the same corps go a considerable distance up the river,
and

and chase the fish downward, by which none of any bigness escape them. The alligators, being unable to eat under water, on seizing a fish, raise their heads above the surface. After satisfying their appetite, they retire to rest on the banks of the river.

When they cannot find fish to appease their hunger, they betake themselves to the meadows bordering on the banks of the river, and devour calves and colts; and in order to be more secure in seizing their prey, take the opportunity of the night, that they may surprise them in their sleep: and it is observed, that those alligators which have once tasted flesh, become so fond of it, as never to take up with fish, but in cases of necessity. Their voracity has been often felt by the boatmen; who, by inconsiderately sleeping with one of their arms or legs hanging over the side of the boat, these animals have seized, and drawn the whole body into the water. The inhabitants of those places where they abound, are very industrious in catching and destroying them. Their usual method is by a casonate, or piece of hard wood, sharpened at both ends, and baited with the lungs of some animal. This casonate they fasten to a thong, the end of which is secured to the shore. The alligator, on seeing the lungs floating on the water, snaps at the bait; and thus both points of wood enter into his jaws in such a manner, that he can neither shut nor open his mouth. He is then dragged ashore, where the Indians bait him like a bull, knowing that the greatest damage he can do, is to throw down such as for want of care or agility do not keep out of his reach.

As soon as the French and Spanish artists arrived at Guiaquil, the corregidor dispatched a messenger to the magistrate of Guaranda, that he might order carriages to the port of Caracol, for conveying them and their baggage to the mountains; but the passage being then impracticable, they were obliged to continue at Guiaquil till the summer, when on receiving advice that the mules provided by that magistrate were

were on the road to Caracol, they immediately embarked on the 3d of May, 1736, on board a large chata : but the usual impediment of the current, and several unfortunate accidents, rendered the passage so very long, that they did not land at Caracol before the eleventh. The tortures they received on the river from the moschitos were beyond imagination. The most dismal night they spent in this passage, was when they came to an anchor near a large and handsome house, but uninhabited ; for they had no sooner seated themselves in it, than they were attacked on all sides with innumerable swarms of moschitos ; so that it was impossible for a person susceptible of feeling to be one moment quiet. In short, no expedient was of any use against their numbers. The smoke of the trees they burnt to disperse the infernal insects ; beside almost choking them, seemed rather to augment than diminish their multitudes. At day-break they could not without concern look upon each other ; their faces were swelled, and their hands covered with painful tumours, which sufficiently indicated the condition of the other parts of their bodies, exposed to the attacks of these insects. The following night they took up their quarters in a house inhabited, but not free from moschitos, though in much less numbers than before. On informing their host of the deplorable manner in which they had spent the preceding night, he gravely told them, that the house they so greatly complained of had been forsaken on account of its being the purgatory of a soul : to which one of the company wittily answered, that it was much more natural to think it was forsaken on account of its being a purgatory for the body.

All the road from Caracol to the Ojibar is so deep and boggy, that the beasts, at every step, sunk almost up to their bellies ; but along the banks of that river, they found it more firm and commodious. The house they lodged in had been for some time forsaken, like that already mentioned on Guiaquil river,

and was become a nest of moschitos of all kinds, so that it was impossible to determine which was the worst. Some, to avoid the torture of these insects, stripped themselves, and went into the river, keeping only their heads above water; but the face, being the only part exposed, was immediately covered with them, so that those who had recourse to this expedient were soon forced to deliver up their whole bodies to these tormenting creatures.

On the 16th, at noon, they passed by a place called Memarumi, or Mother of Stone, where there is an inconceivably beautiful cascade. The rock, from which the water precipitates itself, is nearly perpendicular, and fifty fathoms in height; and on both sides bordered with lofty and spreading trees. The clearness of the fluid dazzles the sight, which is, at the same time, charmed with the lustre of the volume of water formed in its fall; after which it continues its course in a bed along a small descent, and is crossed by a road. From thence they continued their journey; and after crossing the river twice on bridges, but with equal danger as in fording it, they arrived at two in the evening at a place called Tarigagua, where they rested in a large structure of timber, covered with vijaua leaves, built for their reception.

It must not be thought strange to say, that the bridges are equally dangerous with the fords; for these structures being all of wood, and very long, shake in passing them; beside, their breadth is not above three feet, and without any rails, so that one false step precipitates the mule into the torrent, where it is inevitably lost: accidents, according to the report of their guides, not uncommon. These bridges, by the rotting of the wood under water, are annually repaired toward winter, the only season when they are used; the rivers, during the summer, being fordable.

At Tarigagua, the traveller often sees instances of

the effects of two opposite temperatures, in two persons happening to meet, one of them coming from Guiaquil, and the other from the mountains: the latter finds the heat so great, that he is scarce able to bear any cloaths, while the former wraps himself up in all the garments he can procure. The one is so delighted with the warmth of the water of the river, that he bathes in it; the other thinks it so cold, that he avoids being spattered by it. Nor is the case very different even in the same person, who, after a journey to the mountains is returning to Guiaquil; or *vice versa*, provided the journey and return be made at the same season of the year.

At a quarter past nine in the morning, they began to ascend the mountain of San Antonio, the foot of which is at Tarigagua, and at one, reached a place called by the Indians Guamac, or Cross of Canes, where they halted.

The ruggedness of the road from Tarigagua leading up this mountain, is not easily described: it gave our artists more trouble and fatigue, beside the dangers they were every moment exposed to, than all they had experienced in their former journeys. In some parts the declivity is so great, that the mules can scarce keep their footing; and in others the acclivity is equally difficult. In many places the road is so narrow, that the mules have scarce room to set their feet; and in others a continued series of precipices. Beside, these roads, or rather paths, are full of holes, or camelones, near three quarters of a yard deep, in which the mules put their fore and hind feet; so that sometimes they draw their bellies and riders legs along the ground. Indeed these holes serve as steps, without which the precipices would be in a great measure impracticable. But should the creature happen to put his foot between two of these holes, or not place it right, the rider falls; and if on the side of the precipice, inevitably perishes.

These holes, or camelones, as they are called, render

der all this road very toilsome and dangerous, being as it were so many obstacles to the poor mules; though the danger is even greater in those parts where they are wanting. For as the tracks are extremely steep and slippery from the soil, which is chalky and continually wet, so they would be quite impracticable, did not the Indians go before and dig little trenches across the road with small spades which they carry with them for that purpose: and thus both the difficulty and danger of these craggy paths are greatly lessened. This work is continual; every drove requiring a repetition of it: for in less than a night the rain utterly destroys all the trenches cut by several hands the preceding day. The trouble of having people going before to mend the road, the pains arising from the many falls and bruises, and the disagreeableness of being covered with dirt, and wet to the skin, might be the more cheerfully supported, were they not augmented by the sight of such frightful precipices and deep abysses, as must fill the traveller's mind with terror.

The manner of descending from these heights is not less difficult and dangerous. In order to understand this, it is necessary to observe, that in these parts of the mountains, the excessive steepness will not admit of the camelones being lasting; for the waters, by the continually softening the earth, wash them away. The mules themselves are sensible of the caution requisite in these descents; for coming to the top of an eminence, they stop, and having placed their fore-feet close together, as in a posture of stopping themselves, they also put their hinder-feet together, but a little forwards, as if going to lie down.

In this attitude, having as it were taken a survey of the road, they slide down with the swiftness of a meteor. All the rider has to do is to keep himself fast in the saddle without checking his beast; for the least motion is sufficient to disorder the equilibrium of the mule, in which case they both unavoidably

perish. The address of this creature is here truly wonderful; for in this rapid motion, when they seem to have lost all government of themselves, they follow exactly the different windings of the road, as if they had before accurately reconitred and previously settled in their minds the rout they were to follow, and taken every precaution for their safety amidst so many irregularities.

But the longest practice of travelling these roads, cannot entirely free the mules from a kind of dread or horror, which appears when they arrive at the top of a steep declivity: for they stop without being checked by the rider; and if he inadvertently endeavours to spur them on, they continue immoveable; nor will they stir from the place till they have put themselves in the above-mentioned posture. Now it is that they seem to be actuated by reason; for they not only attentively view the road, but tremble and snort at the danger; which if the rider be not accustomed to these emotions, cannot fail of filling him with terrible ideas. The Indians go before, and place themselves along the sides of the mountain, holding by the roots of trees, to animate the beasts with shouts, till they at once start down the declivity.

The natural difficulty of all the roads among the mountains are increased by the neglect of them, which is greater than could easily be conceived. If a tree, for instance, happens to fall down across the road, and stop up the passage, no person will be at the pains to remove it; and though all passing that way are put to no small difficulty by such an obstacle, it is suffered to continue: neither the government, nor those who frequent the road, taking any care to have it drawn away. Some of these trees are indeed so large, that their diameter is not less than a yard and a half, and consequently fill up the whole passage; in which case the Indians hew away part of the trunk, and assist the mules to leap over what remains; but in order to this, they must be unloaded; and after
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prodigious labour, they at last surmount the difficulty, though not without great loss of time and damage to the goods. When, pleased with having got over the obstacle themselves, they leave the tree in the condition they found it; so that those who follow are obliged to undergo the same fatigue and trouble. Thus the road, to the great detriment of trade, remains encumbered till time has destroyed the tree.

They now began to descend with more ease towards the province of Chimbo, attended by the provincial alcalde, and the most eminent persons of the town. After complimenting them in the most cordial manner on their arrival, they proceeded together, and within a league of the town were met by the priest, a dominican, accompanied by several of his order, and a number of the inhabitants, who also left the town on the same friendly occasion: and, to heighten the ceremony, had brought with them a troop of cholos, or Indian boys. In this manner the cavalcade entered the town, on which all the bells in the place were rung, and every house resounded with the noise of trumpets, tabors and pipes.

On expressing to the corregidor their surprise at this reception, as a compliment far above their rank, he informed them that it was not at all singular, it being no more than what was commonly practised when persons of any appearance entered the town; and that there was no small emulation between the several towns in paying those congratulations.

After they had passed the mountains beyond Pucara, the whole country within the reach of the eye during a passage of two leagues, was a level and open plain, having neither trees nor mountains, and covered with fields of wheat, barley, maize, and other grain, naturally gave our artists great pleasure.

The corregidor entertained them in his house at Guaranda till the 21st of the same month, when they continued their journey to Quito; whither they arrived, without meeting with any remarkable occurrences, in a few days.

At the extremity of a spacious plain, called Tura Bamba, that is, a muddy plain, stands the city of Quito; on which they entered at five in the evening on the 29th. The president of the province, beside providing apartments for them in the palace of the audiencia, entertained them the first three days with great splendor, during which they were visited by the bishop, the auditor, the canons, the regidores, and all other persons of any distinction, who seemed to vie with each other in their civilities.

Our artists found from accurate observations, that the city of Quito is situated in the latitude of 0 deg. 13 min. 33 sec. south, and in 298 deg. 15 min. 45 sec. or 61 deg. 44 min. 15 sec. west longitude from the meridian of Teneriffe. It stands in the inland parts of the continent of South America, and on the eastern skirts of the west Cordillera of the Andes. Its distance from the coast of the south sea is about 35 leagues west. Contiguous to it on the north-west, is the mountains and desert of Pichincha, not less famous among strangers for its great height, than among the natives for the great riches it is imagined to contain. The city is built on the acclivity of that mountain, and surrounded by others of a middling height, among the breaches, or guaycos, as they are called here, which form the eminences of Pichincha. Some of these breaches are of a considerable depth, and run quite through it, so that great part of the buildings stand upon arches. This renders the streets irregular and extremely uneven, some parts of the city being built on the ascents, descents, and summits of the breaches. The city with regard to magnitude, may be compared to one of the second order in Europe; but the unevenness of its situation is a great disadvantage to its appearance.

Near it are two spacious plains; one on the south, called Zurubamba, three leagues in length; and the other on the north, termed Inna-Quito, about two leagues in extent. Both are interspersed with seats and cultivated

cultivated lands, which greatly add to the prospect from the city, being continually covered with a lively verdure. These two plains contract as they approach the city; and at their junction, form a neck of land, covered with those eminences, on which part of Quito stands. It may perhaps appear strange, that notwithstanding two such beautiful and extensive plains are so near the city, a situation so very inconvenient should be preferred to either. But the first founders seem to have had less regard for convenience and beauty, than for preserving the remembrance of their conquests, by building on the site of the ancient capital of the Indians, who made choice of such places for erecting their towns; probably from their being better adapted to defence. Beside, the Spaniards, during the infancy of their conquest, little imagined this place would ever increase to its present magnitude. Quito, however, was formerly in a much more flourishing condition than at present; the number of its inhabitants being considerably decreased, particularly the Indians, whose streets of whose huts are now forsaken, and in ruins.

Pichincha, in the pagan times, was a volcano; and even some fiery eruptions have been known since the conquest. The mouth or aperture was in a pic, the top of which is now covered with sand and calcined matter. At present no fire is ejected, nor does there any smoke issue from it. The highest part of Pichincha is covered with ice and snow, considerable quantities of which are brought down to the city, and mixed with the liquors drank by people of fashion.

The principal square in Quito has four sides, in one of which stands the cathedral, and in the opposite the episcopal palace; the third side is taken up by the town-house; and the fourth by the palace of the audience. It is very spacious, and has in the center an elegant fountain. It is, indeed, rather disfigured than adorned by the palace of the audience; which, instead of being kept in repair, the greatest part of it has been suffered to fall into ruins; only a few halls

and offices being taken any care of. The principal streets are paved; but those which are not, are almost impassible after rain, which is here very common.

Beside the principal square, there are two others in Quito, and both very spacious, together with several others that are smaller. In these the greatest part of the convents are situated, and thence make a very handsome appearance; the fronts and portals of those edifices dedicated to religion, being adorned with all the embellishments of architecture, particularly the convent of the order of Franciscans, which being wholly of free stone, must have cost a prodigious sum. The cathedral, beside the richness of its furniture, is splendidly adorned with tapestry hangings, and other costly decorations; but in this respect the other parish-churches are so mean, as to have scarce necessities for performing divine worship. Some of them are without pavements; and every other particular is of a piece with that mark of poverty.

Among the courts, whose sessions are held at Quito, the principal is that of the royal audience, which was established there in the year 1563; and consists of a president, (who is also governor of the province with regard to matters of law) four auditors, who are at the same time civil and criminal judges, and a royal fiscal, so called, as beside the causes brought before the audience, he also takes cognizance of every thing relating to the revenue of the crown. Beside this, there is also another fiscal called Protector de los Indios, "Protector of the Indians," who solicits for them, and, when injured, pleads in their defence. The jurisdiction of this court extends to the utmost limits of the province with no other appeal than to the council of the Indies, and this only in case of a rejection of a petition, or flagrant injustice.

The tribunal de cruzada, or croizade, has a commissary, who is generally some dignitary of the church, and a treasurer, who is also the accomptant, and
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through whose hands every thing passes relating to the croizade.

Here is also a treasury for the effects of persons deceased, an institution long since established all over the Indies, for receiving the goods of those whose heirs were in Spain, that thus they might be secured from those accidents, to which, from dishonesty, or negligence, they would be liable in private hands, and securely kept for the persons to which they belong: an institution, originally very excellent, but now greatly abused, great diminutions being made in the estates before they are restored to their proper owners.

Beside the above-mentioned tribunals, here is also a commissary of the inquisition, with an alguazil major, and familiars appointed by the holy office of Lima,

The cathedral chapter consists of the bishop, dean, archdeacon, chanter, treasurer, doctoral, penitentiary, a magistral, three canons by presentation, four prebends, and two demi-prebends, with considerable revenues. This church was erected into a cathedral in the year 1545; and among other festivals that are celebrated in it, with amazing magnificence, are those of corpus Christi, and the conception of our Lady; when all the courts, offices, and persons of eminence, never fail to assist. But the singular pomp of the procession of the host in the former, and the dances of the Indians, must not be omitted.

With regard to the dances; it is a custom, both among the parishes of Quito, and all those of the mountains, that the priest, a month before the celebration of the feasts, selects a number of Indians, who are to be the dancers. These immediately begin to practise the dances they used before their conversion to christianity. The music is pipe and tabor; and the most extraordinary of their motions a few awkward capers: in short, the whole is little to the taste of an European. Within a few days of the solemnity, they dress themselves in a doublet, shirt, and a woman's petticoat,

petticoat, adorned in the finest manner possible. Over their stockings they wear a sort of pinked buskins, on which are fastened a great number of bells. Their head and face they cover with a sort of mask, formed of ribbands of several colours. Dressed in this fantastical garb, they proudly call themselves angels, unite in companies of eight or ten, and spend the whole day in roving about the streets, highly delighted with the gingling of their bells; and frequently stop to dance, to gain the applauses of the ignorant multitude, who are strangers to elegant dancing. But what is really surprising, is, that without any pay, or view of interest, unless they think it a religious duty, they continue this exercise a whole fortnight before the grand festival, and a month after it, without minding either their labour or families. The same dress is worn by them in other processions, and at the bull feasts, when they are excused from labour, and therefore highly pleased with them.

Soon after our artists arrived at Quito, they determined to continue the series of the triangles for measuring an arch of the meridian to the S. of that city: the company accordingly divided themselves into two bodies, consisting of French and Spaniards, and each retired to the part assigned them. Don George Juan and M. Godin, who were at the head of one party, went to the mountain of Pambamarca; while M. Bouguer, de la Condamine, and Don Ulloa, together with their assistants, climbed up to the highest summit of Pichincha. Both parties suffered extremely, both from the severity of the cold, and the impetuosity of the winds, which on these heights blow with incessant violence; difficulties the more painful, as they had been little used to such sensations. Thus in the torrid zone, nearly under the equinoctial, where it is natural so suppose they had most to fear from the heat, their greatest pain was caused by the excessiveness of the cold.

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Their first scheme for shelter and lodging in these uncomfortable regions, was to pitch a field-tent for each company; but on Pichincha this could not be done from the narrowness of the summit: they were therefore obliged to be contented with a hut so small that they could hardly all creep into it. Nor will this appear strange, if the reader considers the bad disposition and smallness of the place, it being one of the loftiest crags of a rocky mountain, one hundred fathoms above the highest part of the desert of Pichincha. Such was the situation of their mansion, which, like all the other adjacent parts, soon became covered with ice and snow. The ascent up this stupendous rock, from the base, or the place where the mules could come, to their habitation, was so craggy as only to be climbed on foot; and to perform it cost them four hours continual labour and pain, from the violent efforts of the body, and the subtilty of the air; the latter being such as to render respiration difficult.

The strange manner of living to which our artists were reduced during the time they were employed in a geometrical mensuration of some degrees of the meridian, may not perhaps prove unentertaining to the reader; and therefore the following account is given as a specimen of it. The desert of Pichincha, both with regard to the operations performed there, and its inconveniencies, differing very little from others, an idea may be very easily formed of the fatigues, hardships, and dangers to which they were continually exposed during the time they were prosecuting the enterprize, with the conduct of which they had been honoured. The principal difference between the several deserts consisted in their greater or lesser distance from places where they could procure provisions; and in the inclemency of the weather, which was proportionate to the height of the mountains, and the season of the year.

They generally kept within their hut. Indeed they were obliged to do this, both on account of the intensesness

tenfeness of the cold, the violence of the wind; and their being continually involved in so thick a fog, that an object at six or eight paces was hardly discernible. When the fog cleared up, the clouds by their gravity moved nearer to the surface of the earth, and on all sides surrounded the mountain to a vast distance, representing the sea, with their rock like an island in the centre of it. When this happened, they heard the horrid noises of the tempests, which then discharged themselves on Quito and the neighbouring country. They saw the lightnings issue from the clouds, and heard the thunders roll far beneath them: and whilst the lower parts were involved in tempests of thunder and rain, they enjoyed a delightful serenity; the wind was abated, the sky clear, and the enlivening rays of the sun moderated the severity of the cold. But their circumstances were very different when the clouds rose; their thickness rendered respiration difficult; the snow and hail fell continually, and the wind returned with all its violence; so that it was impossible entirely to overcome the fears of being, together with their hut, blown down the precipice, on whose edge it was built, or of being buried under it by the daily accumulations of ice and snow.

The wind was often so violent in these regions, that its velocity dazzled the sight, whilst their fears were increased from the dreadful concussions of the precipice caused by the fall of enormous fragments of rocks. These crushes were the more alarming, as no other noises are heard in these deserts: and during the night, their rest, which they so greatly wanted, was frequently disturbed by such sudden sounds. When the weather was any thing fair with them, and the clouds gathered about some of the other mountains which had a connection with their observations, so that they could not make all the use they desired of this interval of good weather, they left their hut to exercise themselves. Sometimes they descended to
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some small distance, and at others, amused themselves with rolling large fragments of rocks down the precipice; and these frequently required the joint strength of them all, though they often saw the same effected by the mere force of the wind. But they always took care in their excursions not to go far out, but that on the least appearance of the clouds gathering about their cottage, which often happened very suddenly, they could regain their shelter. The door of their hut was fastened with thongs of leather, and on the inside not the smallest crevice was left unstopped; beside which it was very compactly covered with straw: but notwithstanding all their care, the wind penetrated through. The days were often little better than the nights; and all the light they enjoyed was that of a lamp or two, which they kept continually burning.

Though their hut was small, and crowded with inhabitants, beside the heat of the lamps, yet the intenseness of the cold was such, that every one of them was obliged to have a chafing-dish of coals. These precautions would have rendered the rigour of the climate supportable, had not the imminent danger of perishing by being blown down the precipice, roused them every time it snowed, to encounter the severity of the outward air, and sally out with shovels to free the roof of their hut from the masses of snow which were gathering on it. Nor would it without this precaution, have been able to support the weight. They were not indeed without servants and Indians; but these were so benumbed with the cold, that it was with great difficulty they could get them out of a small tent, where they kept a continual fire. So that all our artists could obtain from them was to take their turns in this labour; and even then they went very unwillingly about it, and consequently performed it slowly.

It may easily be conceived what this company suffered from the asperities of such a climate. Their feet

feet were swelled, and so tender, that they could not even bear the heat; and walking was attended with extreme pain. Their hands were covered with chilblains; their lips swelled and chopped; so that every motion in speaking or the like, drew blood: consequently they were obliged to strict taciturnity, and little disposed to laugh, as by causing an extension of the lips, it produced such fissures as were very painful for two or three days after.

Their common food in this unhospitable region was a little rice boiled with some flesh or fowl, procured from Quito; and instead of fluid water their pot was filled with ice; they had the same resource with regard to what they drank: and while they were eating, every one was obliged to keep his plate over a chafing-dish of coals, to prevent his provisions from freezing. The same was done with regard to the water. At first they imagined the drinking strong liquors would diffuse a heat through the body, and, consequently, render it less sensible of the painful sharpness of the cold; but to their surprise, they felt no manner of strength in such liquors: nor were they any greater preservative against the cold than the common water.

At the same time they found it impossible to keep the Indians together. On their first feeling of the climate, their thoughts were immediately turned on deserting their masters. The first instance they had of this kind was so unexpected, that had not one of a better disposition than the rest staid and acquainted them of their design, it might have proved of very bad consequence. The affair was this: there being on the top of the rock no room for pitching a tent for the Indians, they used every evening to retire to a cave at the foot of the mountain; where, beside a natural diminution of the cold, they could keep a continual fire; and, consequently, enjoyed more comfortable quarters than their masters. Before they withdrew at night, they fastened on the outside, the door of the hut, which was so low that it was impos-

fible to go in or out without stooping; and as every night the hail and snow which had fallen, formed a wall against the door, it was the business of one or two of the Indians to come early and remove this obstruction. For though the Negro servants were lodged in a little tent, their hands and feet were so covered with chilblains, that they would rather have suffered themselves to have been killed than move. The Indians therefore came constantly up to dispatch this work betwixt nine or ten in the morning; but they had not been there above four or five days, when they were not a little alarmed to see ten, eleven, and twelve come, without any news of their labourers: when they were relieved by the honest servant mentioned above, who had withstood the seduction of his countrymen, and informed his masters of the desertion of the four others. As soon as the snow was cleared away from the door, they dispatched the Indian to the corregidor of Quito, who with equal dispatch sent other Indians, threatening to chastise them severely if they were wanting in their duty.

But the fear of punishment was not sufficient to induce them to support the rigour of this situation; for within two days they deserted. The corregidor therefore, to prevent any other inconvenience, sent four Indians under the care of an alcalde, and gave orders for their being relieved every fourth day.

Twenty-three tedious days our artists spent on this rock, viz. to the 6th of September, and even without any possibility of finishing their observations of the angles; for when it was fair and clear weather with them, the others on whose summits the signals which formed the triangles for measuring the degrees of the meridian, were hid in the clouds; and when those were clear, Pichincha was involved in clouds. It was therefore necessary to erect their signals in a lower situation, and in a more favourable region. This however did not produce any change in their habitation till the beginning of December; when having
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finished the observations which particularly concerned Pichincha, they proceeded to others; but with no abatement either of inconveniencies, cold, or fatigue: for the places where they made their observations being necessarily on the highest parts of the desarts; the only respite in which they enjoyed some little ease, was during the short interval of passing from one to the other.

In all their stations subsequent to that on Pichincha, during their fatiguing mensuration of the degrees of the meridian, each company lodged in a field-tent, which, though small, they found less inconvenient than the hut on Pichincha; though at the same time they had more trouble, being oftener obliged to clear it from the snow, as the weight of it would otherwise have demolished the tent. At first, indeed, they pitched it in the most sheltered places; but on taking a resolution that the tents themselves should serve for signals, to prevent the inconvenience of having others of wood, they removed them to a more exposed situation, where the impetuosity of the winds sometimes tore up the piquets, and blew them down.

From what has been observed, it will follow, that, in order to form a right judgment of the happy temperature of the air at Quito, experience must correct the errors which would arise from mere speculation: as without that unerring guide, or the information of history, who would imagine, that in the centre of the torrid zone, or rather under the equinoctial, not only the heat is very tolerable, but even, in some parts, the cold painful? and that others enjoy all the delights and advantages of a perpetual spring, their fields being always covered with verdure, and enamelled with flowers of the most lively colours? The mildness of the climate, free from the extremes of cold and heat, and the constant equality of the nights and days, render a country, which was anciently concluded to be uninhabitable, pleasant and fertile. Nature has here scattered her blessings with so liberal a hand, that
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this country surpasses those of the temperate zones, where the vicissitudes of winter and summer, and change from heat to cold, cause the extremes of both to be more sensibly felt.

The method taken by Nature to render this country a delightful habitation, consists in an assemblage of circumstances, of which, if any were wanting, it would either be utterly uninhabitable, or subject to the greatest inconveniencies. The principal circumstance is its elevated situation, and thus not only the reflection of the heat is diminished, but by the elevation of this country, the winds are more subtilé, and congelation more natural. These are such natural effects as must doubtless be attributed to its situation; and is the only circumstance from whence such different temperatures as are observed here, can proceed.

The fertility of this country, if fully described, would appear to many incredible, did not the consideration of the equality and benignity of the climate inforce its probability. For both the degrees of cold and heat are so happily determined, that the moisture continues, and the earth seldom fails of being cherished by the fertilizing beams of the sun some part of every day: therefore it is no wonder that this country should enjoy a greater degree of fertility than those where the same causes do not concur; especially if we consider, that there is no sensible difference throughout the year; so that the fruits and beauties of the several seasons are here seen at the same time.

Though all this is generally seen, yet there is a settled time for the grand harvest. But sometimes the most favourable season for sowing in one place, is a month or two after that of another, though their distance is not more than three or four leagues; and the time for another at the same distance not then arrived. Thus, in different spots, sometimes in one and the same, sowing and reaping are performed throughout the whole year; the forwardness or retardment naturally arising from the different situations, as moun-

tains, rising grounds, plains, valleys, and breaches; and the temperature being different in each of these, the times for performing the several operations of husbandry must also differ. Nor is this any contradiction to what has before been advanced, relative to this fruitful and fortunate country.

Most of the villages on the sides of the mountains are built with very little regularity; the principal part of them is the church and parsonage, which they call the convent, from the priests being all formerly religious. These structures have some appearance of decency, but the other parts of the village consist of a number of huts, with mud walls, scattered all over the country.

While the Spanish artists were employed in measuring an arch of the meridian in the province of Quito, they received a letter from the vice-roy of Peru, ordering them to repair immediately to Lima, where their assistance was thought necessary, in order to defeat any designs of the English, who were expected to appear soon in the South seas.

They readily obeyed the order of the vice-roy, and having furnished themselves with necessaries at Quito, set out from that city on the 30th of October, and determined to go by Guaranda and Guiaquil; for though there is a road by land through Cuenca and Loja, yet the other seemed the most expeditious, as the ways are neither so bad, nor mules and other beasts of carriage so difficult to be met with.

They reached the Salto on the 7th at night. It is a place which serves as a kind of harbour for boats and small vessels, and is situated at the head of some creeks, or arms of the sea, between fourteen and sixteen leagues from the coast, but entirely destitute of inhabitants, no fresh water being found in any part of the adjacent country, so that it only serves for landing goods consigned to Tumbez.

On the 9th in the morning they reached the town of Tumbez, situated seven leagues from the Salto; the

the whole country through which the road lies is entirely waste, part of it being overflowed by the tides, and the other part dead sands, which reflect the rays of the sun so intensely, as to render it necessary in general to perform this journey in the night; for travelling seven leagues thither, and as many back, without either water or fodder, is much too laborious for the mules to undergo in the day-time.

Near Tumbez is a river of the same name, which discharges itself into the bay of Guiaquil, almost opposite to the island of St. Clare. Barks, boats, balzas, and canoes may go up and down this river, it being three fathoms deep, and twenty-five broad; but it is dangerous to go up it in the winter season, the impetuosity of its current being then increased by torrents from the mountains. At a small distance from the Cordillera, on one side of the banks of the river, stands the little town of Tumbez, in a very sandy plain, interspersed with some eminences. The whole country, from the town of Tumbez to Lima, contained between the foot of the Cordillera and the sea, is known by the name of Valles.

Tumbez was the place where, in the year 1526, the Spaniards first landed in these parts of South-America, under the command of Don Francisco Pizarro.

Along the delightful banks of the river, so far as the water is conveyed, maize, and all other fruits and vegetables that are natives of a hot climate, are produced in the greatest plenty; and in the more distant parts, which are destitute of this advantage, grows a kind of leguminous tree, called algarroble, producing a bean, which serves as food for all kinds of cattle.

The journey from Tumbez to Piura was performed in 54 hours, exclusive of those when they rested; so that the mules, which always travel one constant pace, go something above a league an hour. To the town of Amotape, the only inhabited place in the whole road, is forty-eight leagues. The remaining

part is one continued desert. The mules are allowed two or three hours rest, when they seem quite spent, or at places where water is near.

The town of Amotape, which stands in 4 deg. 51 min. 43 sec. south latitude, is an appendix to the parish of Tumbes, belonging to its lieutenancy, and in the jurisdiction of Piura. The houses are about thirty in number, and composed of the same materials with those of Tumbes; but the inhabitants are only Indians and Mestizos. A quarter of a league from it is a river of the same name, and whose waters are of such prodigious use to the country, that it is every where cultivated, and divided into fields, producing plenty of the several grains, excellent vegetables and fruits, natural to a hot climate, but like Tumbes is infested with moschitos. This river in summer may be forded, but in winter, when the torrents descend from the mountains, it must be crossed in a balza.

From what has been said, the difficulties of travelling this road may be conceived. Besides, as far as Amotape, not only all kinds of provisions must be carried, but even water, and the requisites for kindling a fire, unless your provisions consists of cold meat. In this last stage is a mine of cope, a kind of mineral tar, great quantities of which, for its cheapness, are carried to Callas, and other parts, being used in ships instead of naphtha, but has the ill quality of burning the cordage.

The city of Piura, which is at present the capital of its jurisdiction, was the first Spanish settlement in Peru. It was founded in the year 1531, by Don Francisco Pizarro, who also built the first church in it. The latitude of it is 5 deg. 11 min. 1 sec. south. The houses are either of bricks dried in the sun, or a kind of reeds called quinchas, and few of them have any story. Here the corregidor resides, whose jurisdiction extends in one side along the Valles, and on the other among the mountains. It has a river of
great

great advantage to the inhabitants, as well as the adjacent country, the soil of which is sandy, and therefore easier penetrated by the water; and being level, the water is conveyed to different parts by canals: but in the summer the river is absolutely destitute of water, the little which descends from the mountains being absorbed before it reaches the city; so that the inhabitants have no other method of procuring water, but by digging wells in the bed of the river.

On the 21st our artists continued their journey, and next day reached the town of Sechura, ten leagues distant from Piura. The whole country between these two places is a level sandy desert, and greatly fatiguing to the mules.

The town of Sechura is the last in the jurisdiction of Piura; and its inhabitants not only refuse to furnish passengers with mules, but also will not suffer any person, of whatever rank, to continue his journey, without producing the corregidor's passport. The intention of this strictness is to suppress all abuses in trade; for there being beside this road which leads to the desert, only one called the Rodeo, one of them must be taken; if that of the desert, mules must be hired at Sechura to carry water for the use of the loaded mules when they have performed half their journey.

On the 24th they left Sechura, and crossed the desert, making only some short stops for the ease of their beasts, arriving the next day at five in the evening at the town of Monope, twenty-eight or thirty leagues distant from Sechura, though falsely computed more by the natives. The extent and uniform aspect of this plain, together with the continual motion of the sand, which soon effaces all tracks, often bewilders the most experienced guides, who however shew their skill in soon recovering the right way; for which they make use of two expedients: the first is to observe to keep the wind directly in their faces, and the reverse at their return; for the south winds being constant

here, this rule cannot deceive them : the second is, to take up a handful of sand at different distances, and smell to it ; for as the excrements of the mules impregnate the sand more or less, they determine which is the true road by the scent of the sand. Those who are not well acquainted with these parts, expose themselves to great dangers, by stopping to rest or sleep ; for when they again set forward, they find themselves unable to determine the right road ; and when they have once lost their true direction, it is a remarkable instance of providence if they do not perish either with fatigue or distress, of which there are many melancholy instances.

Near Monope runs a river called Pozuelos, subject to the same changes as those above mentioned ; and the instinct of the beasts used to this road is surprising, for even at the distance of four leagues they smell its water, and become so impatient that it is difficult to stop them ; and perform the remainder of the journey with remarkable cheerfulness and dispatch.

From Monope they travelled to Lambayeque ; from thence through Payjan to Chocope ; and without staying any longer at Chocope than is usual for resting the beasts, they continued their journey, and arrived at the city of Truxillo, eleven leagues distant.

This city was built in the year 1535 by Don Francisco Pizarro, in the valley of Chimbo. Its situation is pleasant, notwithstanding the sandy soil, the universal defect of all the towns in Valles. It is surrounded by a brick wall, and its circuit entitles it to be classed among cities of the third order. It stands about half a league from the sea ; and two leagues to the northward of it is the port of Guanchaco, the channel of its maritime commerce. The houses make a creditable appearance. The generality are of bricks, decorated with stately balconies, and superb porticos, but the other of baxareques. Both are however built low on account of the frequent earthquakes ; few have

so much as one story. The corregidor of the whole department resides in this city.

In this climate there is a sensible difference between winter and summer, the former being attended with cold, and the latter with excessive heat. The country of this whole valley is extremely fruitful, so that the inhabitants enjoy not only a plenty of all kinds of provisions, but also make considerable exports to Panama, especially of wheat and sugars. About a league from the city is a river, whose waters are conducted by various canals through this delightful country. They forded it on the 4th when they left Truxillo; and on the 5th, after passing through Moche, came to Biru, ten leagues from Truxillo.

On the 6th they halted in a desert place called Tambo de Chao, and afterward came to the banks of the river Santa; which having passed by means of the Chimbadores, they entered the town of the same name, which lies at about a quarter of a league from it, and fifteen from Biru; the road being chiefly over vast sandy plains, intercepted between two hills.

The river Santa, at the place where it is usually forded, is near a quarter of a league in breadth, forming five principal streams, which run during the whole year with great rapidity. It is always forded, and for this purpose persons make it their business to attend with very high horses, trained up to stem the current, which is very strong. They are called Chimbadores; and must have an exact knowledge of the ford, in order to guide the loaded mules in their passage, as otherwise the fording this river would be scarce practicable, the floods often shifting the beds of the river, so that even the Chimbadores themselves are not always safe.

Leaving this town on the 8th, they proceeded on their journey, and passed through several places of no considerable note; and without meeting with any thing worth remarking, until they had at length the pleasure of entering the city of Lima.

From the distances carefully set down during the whole course of this journey, it appears, that from Tumbez to Piura is 62 leagues; from Piura to Truxillo 89, and from Truxillo to Lima 113; in all 264 leagues. The greatest part of this long journey is generally performed by night; for the whole country being one continued sand, the reflection of the sun's rays is so violent, that were they to travel by day, the mules would be overcome by the heat, want of water, and herbage.

The city of Lima is situated in the spacious and delightful valley of Rimac, an Indian word, and the true name of the city itself, from a corrupt pronunciation of which word the Spaniards have derived Lima. Rimac is the name by which both the valley and the river are still called. This appellation is derived from an idol to which the native Indians used to offer sacrifice; as did also the incas, after they had extended their empire hither: and as it was supposed to return answers to the prayers addressed to it, they called it by way of distinction Rimac, or, he who speaks, Lima, according to several observations made by our artists for that purpose, stands in the latitude of 12 deg. 2 min. 3 sec. south; and its longitude is 60 deg. 32 min. 58 sec. west, from the meridian of Teneriffe.

Its situation is one of the most advantageous that can be imagined; for being in the centre of that spacious valley, it commands the whole without any difficulty. Northward, though at a considerable distance, is the Cordillera, or chain of the Andes; from whence some hills project into the valley, the nearest of which to the city are those of St. Christopher and Amancaes.

The river, which is of the same name, washes the walls of Lima, and when not increased by the torrents from the mountains is easily forded; but at other times, beside the increase of its breadth, its depth and rapidity render fording impossible: accordingly a very elegant and spacious stone bridge is built over it,

having

having on one end a gate, the beautiful architecture of which is equal to the other parts of this useful structure. This gate leads to the grand square, which is very large and finely ornamented.

The form of the city is triangular, the base or longest side extending along the banks of the river. Its length is 1920 toises, or exactly two thirds of a league. Its greatest breadth from north to south, that is, from the bridge to the angle opposite to the base, is 1080 toises, or two fifths of a league. It is surrounded with a brick wall, which answers its original intention, but is without any manner of regularity.

On the side of the river opposite to the city is a suburb, called St. Layaro, which has, within these few years, greatly increased. All the streets of this suburb, like those of the city, are broad, parallel, or at right-angles, some running from north to south, and others from east to west, forming squares of houses, each 150 yards in front, the usual dimensions of all these quadras or squares in this country, whereas those of Quito are only 100. The streets are paved, and along them runs streams of water, conducted from the river a little above the city; and being arched over, contribute to its cleanliness, without the least inconveniency.

The houses, though for the most part low, are commodious, and make a good appearance. They are all of baxareque, and quinchá, that they may the better support themselves under the shocks of the earthquakes, of which this city has had so many dreadful instances: but appear to be composed of more solid materials, both with regard to the thickness of the principal walls, and the imitation of cornices on them.

All the churches, both conventual and parochial, and also the chapels, are large, and constructed partly of stone, and adorned with paintings and other decorations of great value; particularly the cathedral, the churches of St. Dominic, St. Francis, St. Augustine,

Augustine, the fathers of mercy, and that of the Jesuits, are so splendidly decorated, as to surpass description; an idea being only to be formed by the sight.

One of the most dreadful disasters attending the city of Lima is the earthquakes, to which that country is so subject, that the inhabitants are under continual apprehensions of being, from their suddenness and violence, buried in the ruins of their own houses. These terrible concussions of nature are not regular, either with regard to their continuance or violence; but the interval between them is never of sufficient length to obliterate the remembrance of their frightful consequences.

These earthquakes, though so sudden, have their presages, one of the principal of which is a rumbling noise in the bowels of the earth, about a minute before the shock is felt; nor does this noise continue in the place where it began, but seems to pervade to all the adjacent subterraneous parts. This is followed by dismal howlings of the dogs, which seem to have the first perception of the approaching danger. The beasts of burden passing the streets, stop, and by natural instinct spread open their legs, the better to prevent their falling. On these presages the terrified inhabitants fly from their houses into the streets, with such precipitation, that, if the calamity happens in the night, they appear quite naked; fear and the urgency of the danger banishing at once all sense of decency. Nor does this end with the shock, none venturing to return to their houses through fear of a repetition, which frequently demolishes those buildings which had been weakened by the first.

One of the most dreadful concussions of nature felt by this unfortunate city happened on the 20th of October 1687.

Another, and still more dreadful shock, happened on the 28th of October 1746, at half an hour after ten at night; the concussions began with such violence, that

that in little more than three minutes the greatest part, if not all the buildings, great and small in the whole city, were destroyed, burying under their ruins those inhabitants who had not made sufficient haste into the streets and squares; the only places of safety in these terrible convulsions. The fort of Calloa, at the very same hour, sunk into the like ruins; but what it suffered from the earthquake in its buildings, was inconsiderable, when compared to the terrible catastrophe which followed: for the sea, receding to a considerable distance, returned in mountainous waves, foaming with the violence of the agitation, and suddenly turned Callao and the neighbouring country into a sea; nothing remaining except a piece of the wall of the fort of Santa Cruz, as a memorial of this terrible devastation. There were then twenty-three ships and vessels, great and small, in the harbour, of which nineteen were absolutely sunk, and the other four, among which was a frigate called *Sr. Fermin*, carried by the force of the waves to a considerable distance up the country.

This terrible inundation extended to other ports on the coast, as *Cavallos* and *Guanape*; and the towns of *Chancay*, *Guaura*, and the valleys della *Beranca*, *Sape*, and *Pativilca*, underwent the same fate as the city of *Lima*. The number of persons who perished in the ruins of that city, before the 31st of the same month of October, according to the bodies found, amounted to 1300; besides the maimed and wounded, many of which only lived a short time in torture. At *Callao*, where the number of inhabitants amounted to about 4000, two hundred only escaped, and twenty-two of these by means of the above-mentioned fragment of a wall.

From these terrible devastations, added to another particular, that of never raining, the reader would be naturally led to think that the country must, of necessity, be totally barren: the contrary is however true; for *Lima* enjoys a fertility to be envied, producing all kinds

kinds of grain, and a prodigious variety of fruits. Here industry and art supply that moisture which the clouds seem to with-hold; and the soil is by this means rendered remarkably fruitful, amidst a continual drought.

One of the principal cares of the incas, was the cutting and disposing, in the most advantageous manner, trenches or small canals, in order to conduct the waters of the rivers to nourish every part, and render large fields capable of producing grain. The Spaniards finding these useful works ready executed to their hands, took care to keep them in the same order; and by these are watered the spacious fields of wheat and barley, large meadows, plantations of sugar-canes, and olive-trees, vineyards and gardens of all kinds; all yielding uncommon plenty. Lima differs from Quito, where the fruits of the year have no determined seasons; but here the harvests are gathered in, and the trees drop their leaves, according to their respective natures.

The country contiguous to the city is covered with gardens, producing all the herbs and fruits known in Spain, and of the same goodness and beauty, besides those common to America. The soil is stony and sandy. The arable lands have a stratum of about a foot or two of earth, but below that the whole consists entirely of stones. From this circumstance, the similarity of all the neighbouring wastes, and the bottom of the sea, this whole space may be concluded to have been formerly covered by the ocean, to the distance of three or four leagues, or even farther, beyond its present limits.

The rocks in the most inland part of the bay are perforated, and smoothed like those washed by the waves; a sufficient proof that the sea formed those large cavities, and undermined such prodigious masses as lie on the ground by its continual elisions; and it seems natural to think that the like must have happened in the country contiguous to Lima, and that the

the parts, consisting of pebbles like those at the bottom of the adjacent sea, were formerly covered by the water.

Another singularity in this arid country, is the abundance of springs, water being found every where with little labour, by digging only about four or five feet below the surface.

The lands in the jurisdiction of Chancay, like the other parts of the coasts of Peru, are manured with the dung of certain sea-birds, which abound here in a very extraordinary manner. These they call Guanoes, and the dung Guano, the Indian name for excrement in general. These birds, after spending the whole day in catching their food in the sea, repair at night to rest on the islands near the coast; and their number being so great as entirely to cover the ground, they leave a proportionable quantity of excrement or dung; this is dried by the heat of the sun into a crust, and is daily increasing, so that notwithstanding great quantities are taken away, it is never exhausted. This is the manure used in the fields sowed with maize, and with proper watering is found greatly to fertilize the soil, a little of it being put close to every stem, and immediately watered. It is also of use in fields of other grain, except wheat and barley, and consequently prodigious quantities of it yearly used in agriculture.

One astonishing particular in the walls of this town, and in all other neighbouring valleys, is, that though built on the surface of the earth, without any foundation, they have withstood those violent earthquakes which overthrew the more solid buildings of Lima, and other large towns erected in the Spanish manner; having received no other damage than what naturally results from being forsaken, or what the drivers have done, who make it a resting-place for their cattle in their road to Lima.

During our artists stay at Lima, they laboured incessantly to put the country in the best posture of defence

fence possible, that in case the English squadron, under the command of commodore Anson, which was then expected in the South seas, should make an attack, it might be rendered abortive.

At the same time four men of war were sent to cruise off the coast of Chili, and visit the island of Juan Fernandes, * in order to attack the English squadron, at their first appearance in the South seas. But after cruising there a considerable time, they returned to Callao, without receiving the least information of any foreign ships having been seen in those seas; and immediately applied themselves to finish their mensuration of an arch of the meridian.

But before they had finished their work, an express arrived at Quito, with the particulars of the English having taken several rich prizes in the South-seas, and also sacked the town of Païta. Our artists therefore returned immediately to Lima, where they were appointed commanders of two frigates fitted out for cruisers on the coast of Chili.

The kingdom of Chili is celebrated for its fertility. Its plains, eminences, valleys, in short the whole country, is an object of admiration; for so amazing is the fertility, that every parcel of earth seems transformed into a feed. It is therefore no wonder that many of the inhabitants apply themselves to husbandry, as they are sure of a good market at the several ports of the South-sea. This kingdom also abounds in mines of all kinds, particularly in those of gold and copper.

The manner of carrying on the commerce of this kingdom is nearly the same with that of other na-

* The Spaniards left the island only a few days before commodore Anson's arrival; which fortunate accident prevented his falling into their hands; as his ship's company were then so terribly afflicted with the scurvy, that they could not have made any resistance: as may be seen in commodore Anson's voyage, inserted in the third volume of this work.

tions; but the manner of conducting the inland trade, with the Indians of Arauco, is too remarkable to be omitted.

The Indians of Arauco, and those parts, are not governed by caciques, or curacas, like those of Peru, the only subordination known among them being with regard to age; so that the oldest person of the family is respected as its governor. The Spaniard begins his negotiation with offering the chief of the family a cup of wine; after this he displays his wares, that the Indian may make choice of what best pleases him; mentioning at the same time the return he expects. If they agree, the Spaniard makes him a present of a little wine; and the Indian chief informs the community that they are at liberty to trade with that Spaniard as his friend. Relying on this protection, the Spaniard goes from hut to hut, recommending himself at first by giving the head of every family a taste of his wine. After this they enter upon business; and the Indian having taken what he wanted, the trader goes away without receiving any equivalent at that time, and visits the other huts, as they lie dispersed all over the country, till he has disposed of his stock. He then returns to the cottage of the chief, calling on his customers in his way, and acquainting them that he is on his return home. Upon this summons not one fails of bringing to him at the chief's hut what had been agreed on. Here they take their leave of him, with all the appearance of a sincere friendship; and the chief even orders some Indians to escort him to the frontiers, and assist him in driving the cattle he has received in exchange for his goods.

Formerly, and even till the year 1724, those traders carried large quantities of wine, of which as well as all other inebriating liquors the Indians are immoderately fond: but this trade, through the intemperate use of spirituous liquors, bred tumults and wars, which began without any other declaration than the

massacre of the Spaniards of all ranks who fell into their hands, and even the traders in their country. This branch of trade has therefore been suppressed, and no more allowed to be carried into the Indian territories than what shall be judged necessary to give the masters of families a cup by way of compliment, and a very small quantity for trading. The happy effects of this prohibition are felt on both sides; the Spaniards live in safety, and the Indians in peace and tranquillity.

The Indians of Arauco, Tucapel, and others inhabiting the southern parts of the river Biobio, and also they who live near the Cordillera, have hitherto eluded all attempts made for reducing them under the Spanish government. For in this boundless country, as it may be called, when strongly pushed, they abandon their huts, and retire into more distant parts; where being joined by other nations, they return in such numbers that all resistance would be temerity, and again take possession of their former habitations.

These Indian wars against the Spaniards usually continue some years, being of little detriment to the Indians; for most of their occupations, which consist in the culture of a small spot of ground, and weaving ponchos and cloaks for apparel, are carried on by the women. Their huts are built in a day or two, and their food consists of roots, maize, and other grain. War therefore is no impediment or loss to them; indeed they rather consider it is a desirable occupation, their hours at other times being spent in idleness, or carousals.

The first advances toward a treaty of peace with these Indians are generally made by the Spaniards; and as soon as the proposals are agreed to, a congress is held, at which the governor, major-general of Chili, and the principal officers, the bishop of Concepcion, and other persons of eminence, assist. On the part of the Indians, toqui, or generalissimo, and the captains of his army, as representatives of the communities, repair to the congress.

Beside

Beside the congresses held with these Indians, for concluding a treaty of peace, others are held on the arrival of a new president, and the same ceremonies observed in both.

On these occasions a kind of fair is held at both camps, great numbers of Spaniards repairing thither with such goods as they know will please the Indians; who also come with their ponchos and cattle. Both parties deal by exchange, and never fail selling their whole stocks; or of observing in their dealings the most exact candour and regularity, as a specimen in which all future commerce is to be conducted.

Soon after our artists arrived in the bay of Conception, they joined the *Esperanza*, a Spanish man of war, commanded by Don Pedro Mendinueta, who had found means to double Cape Horn, and reach the bay of Conception. In a few days they received advice that Don Joseph Pizarro was arrived over land from Buenos Ayres, and intended to hoist his flag on board the *Esperanza*. On which they sailed for Valparaíso, where the commodore came on board, and took upon him the command of the squadron. In this port they found three French ships, called the *Louis Erasme*, *Notredame de la Deliverance*, and the *Lys*, which had been freighted as register-ships, and touched at Valparaíso to vend their cargoes.

The whole fleet now sailed for the island of Juan Fernandes, and thence to Callao, where they arrived on the 24th of June.

Our artists now repaired once more to Quito, where they finished their observations, and then returned to Lima, in order to procure a passage from thence to Spain. They found at Callao two of the French ships above-mentioned, namely the *Deliverance* and the *Lys*, preparing for a voyage to Europe. This was an opportunity not to be omitted; and accordingly Don George Juan embarked in the latter, and Don Antonio de Ulloa in the former.

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I i

They

They left the port of Callao on the 22d of October, and on the 22d of November joined the *Louis Erasme*, which with another French register-ship, called the *Marquis d'Antin*, had waited for them in the bay of Conception. Their little squadron being thus formed, they left the bay; but the next day the *Lys* sprung a leak, and was obliged to return. The rest of the squadron had the good fortune to double Cape Horn, without meeting with those terrible storms so frequent near that Cape.

On the 21st of May 1744, they came to an anchor in the road of *Ferdinando de Naroná*, an island on the coast of Brazil, belonging to the Portuguese. Here they refitted their crazy ships, and took on board a fresh supply of provisions, wood and water. On the 10th of June, at ten in the morning, they again got under sail, and continued their course to the northward, comforting themselves that now the whole danger of their voyage was over. But on the 21st of July, about six in the morning, being then in 43 deg. 57 min. north latitude, and 39 deg. 44 min. east of the meridian of Conception, they discovered two sail within three leagues of them, bearing E. N. E. At seven in the morning, when being within little more than cannon-shot of each other, the largest of the two fired a shot, and at the same time both hoisted English colours: the French frigates also formed a line, though little in a condition for fighting; for beside being weakly manned, and the want of arms and ammunition, they had no nettings for securing the men.

The force of the three French frigates was this: the *Louis Erasme* carried twenty guns, and had between seventy and eighty persons on board, seamen, passengers and boys; the *Marquis d'Antin* also carried ten guns on a side, and had aboard fifty-five persons; *La Deliverance* was still smaller than the other two, having only seven on a side, and all the persons aboard did not exceed fifty men.

The

The enemy, who afterward proved to be privateers, were considerably superior in force. The largest of them, called the Prince Frederick, commanded by captain James Talbot, carried thirty-six guns; the name of the smallest privateer was the Duke, captain Morecock; she had ten guns on a side, beside patereroes on both, which did great execution in the rigging. At length, about half an hour after ten, the Marquis d'Antin, which was in the rear, struck to the largest of the enemy, with which she was engaged, after losing her captain: having received so many shot betwixt wind and water, that she was on the point of sinking.

The captain of the Deliverance, which was the headmost ship, seeing one of her company taken, prudently crouded sail, that while the enemy's ships were taken up with the prize, he might escape from them. Louis Erasme could not hesitate to follow her example; but the largest of the English privateers was not long in coming up with her, and by the superiority of her force, and the vigour with which it was exerted, soon laid her under a necessity of surrendering. The two privateers being taken up each with her prize, and the south-east wind freshening, favoured the escape of the Deliverance, which stood N. E. and at four in the evening got quite out of sight both of the privateers and prizes.

The captain of the Deliverance, after this, in all appearance, fortunate escape, consulted with his officers what course was most adviseable to steer. Among them was one who had often been at Louisbourg in the island of Cape Breton, near Newfoundland, and had a perfect knowledge of the situation and nature of the place. He likewise informed the captain, that in the beginning of the summer two men of war were every year sent thither, to carry money and troops for that place and Canada; and likewise to protect the cod-fishery. These reasons, and this course appearing less dangerous than that toward

the coast of Spain, determined the captain to pursue what he thought the safest method, and make for Cape Breton: beside, the condition of the *Deliverance* scarce permitted of any choice, as affording little hopes that she ever would be able to reach any port in Spain. But that the captain and his officers might not be charged with taking such an important step of themselves, a representation was also made to the passengers, who all readily approved of it as the best resource in their present exigency; the very same evening the course was altered, and they steered for Louisbourg as a port of safety.

On the 13th of August, at six in the morning, they saw a brigantine plying along the coast for Louisbourg; the *Deliverance* on this hoisted a French ensign, which was answered by the other, firing two or three guns. This gave them no manner of uneasiness, concluding, that the brigantine, suspecting some deceit in their colours, had fired those guns as a warning to the fishing barks without to get into the harbour. An hour afterward, being near eight o'clock, they saw coming out of Louisbourg two men of war, which they immediately took for ships belonging to a French squadron stationed there, for the security of that important place; and that they had come out on this signal from the brigantine, that a ship had appeared in sight, lest it might be some Boston privateer, with a design on the fishery. Here we must refer to the reader's imagination, the complacency and joy which swelled every heart, imagining that they now saw the end of all their fears and disasters; a place of safe repose, after a voyage of such danger and fatigue. Then let him think what an edge the melancholy disappointment gave to their astonishment and dejection, when their visionary schemes of delight ended in the real miseries of captivity: that place being then in the hands of the English.

The smallest vessel, which carried fifty guns, leading the way, came along-side of the *Deliverance*; then
indeed

indeed the fatal disappointment became too evident, by the ship hoisting her national colours, and firing several guns, which carried away the fore-top-sail-halliards; and at the same time the larger ship came up on the starboard-side. Betwixt two such enemies resistance would have been a wild temerity; the captain immediately struck his colours, and the boat from the smallest ship came on board, and took possession of the *Deliverance*; and returned into the harbour with a very rich prize.

These two English men of war were the *Sunderland*, captain John Brett, of sixty guns, and the *Chester*, captain Philip Durell, of fifty.

Don Ulloa adds, that all his secret papers, on their departure from the island of Fernando de Norona, were formed into a packet, and that he had desired of the captain, the supercargo and other officers, that in case it was his fate to fall suddenly in the action, they would throw the parcel into the sea. When therefore the Spanish officer found that there was no possibility either of opposing or getting clear of the enemy, he threw the packet overboard, after fastening some bullets to it; but, all his papers relating to the mensuration of the degrees of the meridian, together with the physical and astronomical observations and historical narratives, he kept by him, the contents being of universal concern, and no detriment could result from the enemy's inspecting them. But as among men who seemed to mind nothing but what was silver or gold, they would have ran a great risk of being abused or confounded among a multitude of others, he thought proper to acquaint the captains on what service he had been employed; and as his papers tended to the improvement of navigation, recommended them to their care.

Don Ulloa was sent with the fleet to England, and thence to Fareham, a pleasant village at the bottom of Portsmouth harbour, where the prisoners of war were then confined. "I must not, says Don Ulloa

“ here omit the courtesy and generosity of captain
 “ Brett, commander of the Sunderland, to all the
 “ prisoners of any rank, whom he not only admitted
 “ to his table during the voyage, but prevailed on all
 “ the other officers to imitate his good example; and
 “ who seemed to vie in civilities toward us, and
 “ humanity toward the inferior sort: sparing for
 “ nothing to alleviate our misfortunes.”

Our author was committed to the care of Mr. Brookes, commissary for the French prisoners, and paints his gratitude for the many favours he received from that gentleman; and also from Mr. Rickman, who acted in the same capacity for the Spaniards, in the most glowing colours.

“ Both these gentlemen, adds he, offered to join
 “ their interest in soliciting the admiralty for my pa-
 “ pers, the thing I had most at heart.” A petition
 was accordingly sent to his grace the duke of Bedford, then first lord of the admiralty, and the answer returned was agreeable to his wishes: the lords of the admiralty adding, that they were not at war with the arts and sciences, or their professors; that the English nation cultivated them, and that it was the glory of its ministers and great men to encourage and protect them.

Soon after our author obtained permission to repair to London, that he might renew his solicitations with greater ease and effect. “ On my first attendance at
 “ the office for prisoners of war, says Don Ulloa, a
 “ letter was shewn me from lord Harrington, secretary
 “ of state, for bringing me to his house. This noble-
 “ man, having been ambassador for some years in
 “ Spain, among his other eminent qualities, had a
 “ great affection for the Spaniards, which he was
 “ pleased to extend to me in a most obliging recep-
 “ tion, and assurances, that nothing should be want-
 “ ing in him to procure me my papers, or do me any
 “ other good office. Martin Folkes, Esq; then pre-
 “ sident of the Royal Society, a person equally dis-
 “ tinguished

“ distinguished for his learning, politeness, and readiness
 “ to do every good action in his power, being in-
 “ formed I was a prisoner at Fareham, and that my
 “ papers were lodged at the admiralty, and fearing
 “ they might fall into the hands of persons entirely
 “ ignorant of their contents, and by that means be
 “ mislaid or abused, had applied for having them de-
 “ livered to him—but they were unhappily ming-
 “ led with many others of a very different kind, and
 “ therefore difficult to separate them, without the
 “ presence of the author himself, to distinguish them
 “ by the hand and other marks. By his assistance and
 “ the alacrity of Mr. Brookes, who was determined
 “ not to rest till the affair was ended to my satisfac-
 “ tion, an order of the admiralty was obtained to the
 “ secretary of the India company, to whom they had
 “ all been sent, that I might make a search for them,
 “ and those which I should separate were to be sent
 “ to the admiralty. This order met with such a
 “ punctual compliance, that it was executed the very
 “ day of its date.

“ The president of the Royal Society, for whom
 “ all the lords of the admiralty entertained an esteem
 “ suitable to his great merit, was again pleased to in-
 “ terest himself in favour of my papers; and in re-
 “ gard to his solicitations, the examination of them
 “ was referred to him. This gentleman, who pos-
 “ sessed in the highest degree all the social and intel-
 “ lectual qualities, affability without artifice, a
 “ genius which nothing could escape, and an amiable
 “ deportment, and generous manners, had from my
 “ first arrival shewn me an incessant kindness: he in-
 “ troduced me to the meetings of the society, and
 “ to him I owe the acquaintance of many persons of
 “ distinction, and the marks of friendship I received
 “ from them. He condescended to carry me to the
 “ most famous museums, places affording the highest
 “ delight to a rational mind, and where all nature is
 “ collected into a living history of the several pro-

“ ducts of the waters and earth, both in the mineral,
 “ vegetable, and animal kingdoms. He likewise
 “ brought me acquainted with the most famous literati,
 “ and was my constant guide. In a word, he
 “ carried his friendship to me very far beyond what I
 “ could have expected, had I even entertained a much
 “ higher opinion of my own abilities.

“ Actions like these convinced me of the sincerity
 “ of the English, their benevolence, and disinterested
 “ complaisance. I observed the tempers, customs,
 “ government, and police of this praise-worthy nation,
 “ which in its œconomical conduct, and social
 “ virtues, may be a pattern to all the rest of mankind.

“ Mr. Folkes, having gone through my papers,
 “ made his report to the admiralty, couched in such
 “ favourable terms, that the board gave him leave,
 “ according to his desire, to deliver them up to me,
 “ which he accordingly did on the 15th of May. But
 “ as a more illustrious testimony of the great esteem
 “ with which he honoured me, he proposed to Earl
 “ Stanhope, and several other gentlemen of the Royal
 “ Society, that I might be admitted a member of
 “ that learned body; rightly judging that such an
 “ honour could not fail of adding an ardour to my
 “ desire of contributing to the improvement of the
 “ sciences.”

Don Ulloa, having thus obtained his papers, together with his liberty, which had been granted at his first solicitation, embarked at Falmouth in the Lisbon packet-boat, and reached Madrid on the 26th of July, 1746. Soon after his arrival, the king of Spain ordered the papers of Don Ulloa to be published under his patronage; and from those authentic memoirs, the foregoing account of this celebrated voyage is extracted.

REMARKS

REMARKS ON THE TRADE

BETWEEN

SPAIN AND THE WEST INDIES.

IT has been always the ruling maxim in the Spanish councils to preserve by all means possible the commerce with the West Indies, not only to the Spanish nation, but to the crown of Spain. On this principle they restrain, with great punctuality, all strangers from passing into their American dominions; and though there have been formerly some instances of foreigners passing through the Spanish settlements, and even residing in them, yet they are very rare. It is true, that of late years the Spaniards have found themselves in some manner obliged to relax in this point, especially during the long controversy about the Spanish succession, when they laboured under a necessity of being protected by the French fleets. But as soon as Philip V. was acknowledged by the maritime powers for king of Spain, they returned immediately to their old notions; and orders were dispatched to the West Indies to compel the French, who were settled there, to return into Europe, and to break off all commerce with them for the future, which in the South seas at least were punctually obeyed.

The method in which trade is carried on there is well enough known in general, but few enter far enough into its particulars. In order to give as distinct an account of this matter as possible, we shall speak of the galleons, the flota, the flotilla, register-ships, and guarda costas; and when we have done this,

this, the reader will perfectly comprehend the mystery of the Spanish policy in this point.

A galleon is, properly speaking, a very large man of war, of three or four decks, built in a manner now altogether out of fashion, except in Spain; and the reason why it is still used there, is, that it affords a great deal of room for merchandize, with which the king's ships are generally so much crouded, as to be in no condition of defending themselves. That fleet which we call the galleons, consists of eight such men of war. Of these there are three very large ones, each of fifty guns, and an advice frigate of forty. The merchant-men which sail with this fleet, and purchase their licences at a very high rate, are in number from twelve to sixteen, and in burthen at least a third part bigger than is expressed in their respective schedules. These ships are intended to carry all that is necessary, either of warlike stores, or merchandize for Peru: and this is the specific difference between this fleet and the flota, which is intended for Mexico. In time of peace, the galleons sail regularly once a year from Cadiz, at no set time, but according to the king's pleasure, and the convenience of the merchants. From Cadiz the galleons steer directly for the Canaries, where, if the flota sails with them, as it sometimes does, they anchor together in the haven of Gomera. Thence they bear away for the Antilles, and when they arrive at that height, the flota separates, and the galleons bear away for Carthagena. As soon as they double Cape de la Vela, and appear before the mouth of Rio de la Hacha, advice is sent to all parts, that every thing may be got ready for their reception. In the harbour of Carthagena they remain a month, and land there all the goods designed for the audience of the Terra Firma. Then they sail to Porto Bello, where they continue during the fair, which lasts five or six weeks; and having landed the merchandize intended for Peru, and received the treasure and rich commodities sent from thence on board,

board, they sail again to Carthagená, where they remain till they return to Spain, which is usually within the space of two years. When they have orders to return, they sail first to the Havanna, and having there joined the flota, and what other ships are returning to Europe, they thence continue their voyage to Cadiz.

The flota consists, as well as the galleons, of a certain number of men of war, and of a certain number of merchants ships. The former are seldom more than three; the latter are usually about sixteen, in burthen between five hundred and a thousand tons. This fleet sails about the month of August, that by the favour of the winds which reign about November, they may the more easily pursue their voyage to La Vera Cruz. In their passage they call at Puerto Rico, to take in fresh water and provisions, then pass in sight of Hispaniola, Jamaica, and Cuba; and, according to the season of the year, and the nature of the winds, pass either by the coast of Yucatan, or higher through the gulph, to La Vera Cruz, which lies at the bottom of it. As the flota is designed to furnish not only Mexico, but the Philippine islands also, with European goods, they are obliged to remain there for a considerable space; and, when it is necessary, they winter in that port. The cargo with which they return, is not so rich as that of the galleons; but some writers say, that it increases annually in its value, which must be owing to the progress made in settling what the Spaniards call the kingdom of New Mexico.

It is usually in the month of May that the flota leaves La Vera Cruz, though sometimes it is detained in that harbour till August. Then the ships that compose it, sail for the Havanna. As soon as they are safely arrived in the Havanna, they detach a few of the lightest and cleanest ships to Europe; who, beside money and merchandize, carry also an exact account of the contents both of the galleons and flota.

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These ships are called by the Spaniards, with propriety enough, the *flotilla*, i. e. *the little fleet*. The principal reason of sending them in this manner into Spain, is to give the court of Madrid an opportunity of judging what convoy may be necessary, in case of any alteration of affairs, to be sent to escort the grand fleet; as also to regulate the *indulto*, which may be levied on the merchants in proportion to their interest in the galleons and *flota*. But the reader may possibly incline to inquire what obliges this great fleet to remain so long at the Havanna? for which two causes may be assigned, *viz.* waiting for a wind, or for the register-ships which they are to convoy home.

A register-ship is so called, from its being registered with all the effects embarked in Spain, in the books kept for that purpose in the chamber of Seville. As this general account will not probably appear satisfactory, we shall endeavour to state the matter more fully. A company of merchants having, as they conceive, just grounds to imagine that European goods are greatly wanted at some particular ports in the West Indies, they draw up a memorial or petition, containing these reasons in the clearest and concise terms, and lay it before the council of the Indies. The prayer of this petition is, That they may have leave to send a ship of three hundred tons burthen, or under, to the port they mention. When leave is obtained, they pay a certain sum to the crown, which is generally between thirty and fifty thousand pieces of eight, beside presents, and those no small ones, to the king's officers, from the greatest to the least. That this however may not induce any suspicion of fraud, they register their ship and cargo, that it may appear consistent with their petition and licence, and yet (such a fatality there attends on all custom-house cautions) this ship of under three hundred tons generally carries upwards of six hundred ton of goods, and affords accommodation for passengers besides. Copies from the register are transmitted to the governor

and royal officers at the port, to which the register-ship is bound; and such is their diligence, such their integrity, that when the ship comes to an anchor in the port, they make a very narrow enquiry, and yet there is seldom or never any fraud discovered: but, on the contrary, this ship of six or seven hundred ton returns into Europe with an authentic certificate from all the king of Spain's officers, that she does not carry quite three hundred, together with a bill of lading in the same strain of computation. By these register ships there is sometimes a gain of two or three hundred *per cent.* which enables the owners to pay so bountifully for cheating the king, having first got the money by robbing his subjects.

These register-ships go to Buenos Ayres, St. Martha, Porto Cavallo, and other places, to which neither the galleons nor flota come; yet, generally speaking, they return with those fleets, as they sometimes go out with them, and so leave them in a certain latitude. The Spanish grandees often interest themselves in procuring such licences; and some people do not stick to say that they find their account in it. The profits accruing by this sort of commerce making those concerned therein extravagantly rich in a short space of time, the English and Dutch in the West Indies, who are known to be a sort of people quick in their tempers, and not over nice in point of manners, have always had a strong desire to be dealing this way without the ceremony of a licence; and for many years they succeeded to their wish, partly by the connivance of Spanish governors, and partly by employing force. At length this evil grew so flagrant, that the court of Spain determined to put an end to it; and, in order thereto, sent new governors into America, with very precise orders on this head, declaring at the same time, that they should be carried fully into execution.

These instructions gave rise to the guarda costas, or guard-ships, which have since made so much noise in the

the world, and of which it is necessary to speak more particularly. It cannot be denied that there were originally good grounds for equipping them; since the English in some measure, and the Dutch more openly, began to carry on an illicit trade by force. The Dutch vessels were from twenty to thirty-six guns, and therefore valued nothing the governor of Carthage could do, to prevent their trading on his coast: but when the guard-ships were stationed there, they for some time put an end to the evil; for, falling in with some of these interlopers, they sunk one, and took two, the cargoes of which were worth upwards of a hundred thousand pounds. Nay, finding on board them sixteen Spanish merchants, who on a signal given were come off to trade, they hanged them all without mercy. So far all was right; for, without question, these smugglers not only prejudiced the king of Spain, but even the fair traders of their own nations, by the clandestine commerce they carried on, as the reader will easily apprehend. The captains of these guard-ships, however, soon altered their conduct, and instead of taking contraband traders, infested the English commerce, and took without distinction all they were able to master; at first under very frivolous pretences, and at last without any pretence at all. But to return from their piratical guard-costas, to speak of their sinking trade; it will appear that, with the richest territories, the Spanish monarch is one of the poorest, as well as proudest princes in Christendom. A paradox not difficult to explain.

There is nothing more common than to hear Spain compared to a sieve, which, whatever it receives, is never the fuller. How common soever the comparison may be, most certainly it is a very true one; but the means by which all this immense wealth, or at least the far greatest part of it, is drawn from the Spaniards, and conveyed to other nations, and in what proportions, is neither so well, nor so generally understood. To account for this shall be our present task.

If after the discovery of the new world, as the Spaniards justly enough called it, the government had encouraged trade or manufactories, there is great probability that the supreme direction of the affairs of Europe would have fallen into the hands of the catholic kings. For, if all the subjects of Spain, without restraint, had traded to these far distant regions, this must have created such a maritime force, as no other nation could have withstood: or, supposing the trade had been restrained as it is at present, yet, if manufactures had been encouraged, so as that the greatest part of the trade of the West Indies had been driven, without having recourse to foreigners, such prodigious sums of money must have rested in Spain, as would have enabled its monarchs to have given law to all their neighbours. But, by neglecting these obvious, and yet certain rules for establishing solid and extensive at least, if not universal dominion; her kings had recourse to those refinements in policy, which, however excellent they may seem in theory, have never yet been found to answer in practice. They were for fixing their commerce by constraint, and for establishing power by the sword: the first, experience has shewn to be impracticable; and the latter, perhaps, was the only method whereby they could have missed that end they used it to obtain.

Yet the princes that took these steps were not either rash and hasty, or voluptuous and profuse; but, on the contrary, were esteemed by all the world the wisest monarchs of their respective times, and, in many things, deserved to be so esteemed. They erred, not through want of capacity, or want of application, as their successors did, but for want of considering things in a right light, occasioned purely by their fixing their eyes on that dazzling meteor, universal empire: and, however wise, however penetrating these princes might be, they certainly overshot themselves in their schemes concerning the Western Indies. Instead of looking upon it as an estate, they seemed to think it
only

only a farm, of which they were to make presently the most they could.

All who are in any degree acquainted with the history of Europe, know, that for a long course of years Spain maintained wars in Flanders, Germany, Italy, and sometimes in Ireland, which created a prodigious expence of treasure and of troops; neither of which, from the death of Charles V. they were in any condition to spare. As families were reduced by the expence of serving in the army, they were inclined to seek new fortunes in the West Indies: and thus numbers went over thither, not to cultivate the country, or to improve trade, but to strip and plunder those who were there before them. Other great families again concurred with the measures of the crown, in hopes of viceroyalties, and other valuable offices in its conquests: but if ever their schemes were beneficial to their families, which may admit of doubt, certain it is that they contributed more and more to the ruin of the Spanish nation. For, though his catholic majesty once possessed Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, Milan, with other territories in Italy, beside all the Low Countries, and some other provinces which are now lost; yet, for want of attending to commerce, and by having no sort of oeconomy, all this turned to his prejudice; and it plainly appeared toward the close of the last century, that with all their boasted sagacity and firmness, the Spaniards had ruined themselves by acquiring too great power; and rendered themselves beggars by misusing their immense riches. With swelling titles and wide dominions, they were despicably weak, and scarce any but copper money was to be seen in a country, which received above twenty millions annually from its plantations.

Before this topic is quitted, we must take notice of another thing, which is certainly very extraordinary. This wrong turn in the Spanish policy had a wonderful effect; it made all the enemies of that nation rich, and all its friends poor. Every body knows that

that the United Provinces not only made themselves free and independent, but rich and powerful also, by their long war with Spain. Our maritime power was owing to the same cause. If Philip II. had not disturbed Queen Elizabeth, our fleet might have been as inconsiderable at the close of her reign as it was at the beginning, when we were pestered with pirates even in the narrow seas. Our plantations abroad were in a great measure owing to expeditions against the Spaniards: and our manufactures at home were the consequence of affording refuge to the king of Spain's Protestant subjects.

By so long a series of mismanagement the Spaniards have brought their affairs into so wretched a situation, that they neither have, nor can have any very great benefit from their vast dominions in America. They are said to be stewards for the rest of Europe; their galleons bring silver into Spain, but neither wisdom nor power can keep it there: it runs out faster than it comes in, insomuch that the little canton of Bern is really richer, and has more credit, than the king of Spain, notwithstanding his Indies. At first sight this seems to be strange and incredible; but when we come to examine it, the mystery is by no means impenetrable. The silver and rich commodities which come from the Indies, come not for nothing, (the king's duties excepted) and very little of the goods or manufactures for which they come, belong to the subjects of the crown of Spain. It is evident, therefore, that the Spanish merchants are but factors and that the greatest part of the returns from the West Indies, belong to those for whom they negotiate.

The very probity of the Spanish merchants is destructive to their country; for, as they are never known to betray their trust, consequently the foreigners who make use of their names to cover their commerce in the Indies, reap the intire advantage of the high price at which their goods sell. All then that rests in Spain is the silver and gold on the king's ac-

count, the profit upon such goods as were actually sent by Spanish merchants, and the commissions which Spanish factors receive : all beside is presently drawn away.

A great part of their troops, and at least a moiety of their officers, are foreigners ; who send their effects away, if ever they are so happy as to have any. The greatest part of the artizans, pedlars, and small shopkeepers, are Frenchmen or Italians ; who either retire in the decline of life, or leave what they are worth to relations in their own country. Nay, the very labourers and harvest-people come thither annually by thousands out of the provinces of France next to Spain ; and when they have done their business, and received their wages, go home again till the next year. Whenever the galleons are stopt, and thereby the supplies from America cut off for one or more years, it is easy to discern what troubles and distresses this must occasion, and what irremediable evils such disappointments bring along with them : for, as these never fall out but in time of war, an increase of expence meets with a deficiency of funds, and those who are at the head of affairs have at once both these opposite mischiefs to deal with.

The methods taken by his most catholic majesty for effectually securing the commerce of his American dominions to the inhabitants of Old Spain, is the grand source of the little respect paid him in the Indies, and of the great weakness of his government at home. The inhabitants of the Spanish America consider gold and silver as commodities which they have, and would willingly barter for other commodities which they have not. It seems therefore to these people a great hardship, that either proper care is not taken to furnish them with what they want from Spain, or that they should not be allowed to supply themselves some other way. The native Spaniards, who have the government of the Indies intirely in their hands, treat such complaints with the haughtiness natural to that nation, which renders them universally

versally odious and insupportable. Sir John Narborough tells us, the soldiers in garrison at Baldivia had silver hilted swords, and their officers gold ones; and yet there was not a whole coat, or a good pair of shoes amongst the corps.

When people are in such a situation, there need be no wonder at their endeavouring to carry on a clandestine trade; as, on the other hand, one cannot think it strange that their neighbours, who live under better governments, who have at cheap rates all that these Spaniards want, and yet stand in need of the silver and gold with which they abound; should be very willing to commence such an intercourse as might supply all their wants. Sometimes governors have winked at this, not from a principle of avarice only, that they might share in the profits resulting from such a trade, but also from a sense of the necessity of dispensing with laws so ill calculated as to deserve no respect. For, to be sure, that rule of justice, which connects the Spanish plantations to Spain, requires that the government of Spain should have a reciprocal regard for those plantations; and a neglect on one part infers a licence on the other. Upon this principle it was, that before the treaty of Utrecht, and the Asiento contract, the English at Jamaica furnished the Spaniards at Porto Bello with negroes, with the knowledge at least, if not by the permission of the governors. The inhabitants of Peru never could be without slaves. The government of Old Spain never could, indeed never attempted to supply them, but permitted sometimes the Genoese, sometimes the French, to carry on this trade: when they did not do it effectually, the deficiency was made good by such a commerce as is before mentioned with the English, though without any formal licence, but by a connivance, the less criminal for its being absolutely necessary.

The situation of the island of Jamaica, together with the conveniencies of building and freighting sloops from thence, engaged the inhabitants in this,

and in other branches of traffic. Such as settle themselves in these distant parts of the world, do it generally from a spirit of gain, and therefore the grand point with them is always how to get most. They therefore for a long track of time, and by various methods, not necessary to be insisted on here, supplied the Spaniards at Carthagena, Porto Bello, Rio de la Hacha, and other places, with European commodities of all sorts; notwithstanding the mighty hazard they ran in the management of so dangerous a business: their own lives, and those of their customers, being alike exposed, and frequently forfeited to what the Spaniards call justice. They likewise carried on a trade with the Indians of Darien, to their great profit, but with equal risk, for the Spaniards were wont to shew no mercy either to English or Indians that fell into their hands.

It seems, however, to be our interest to put an end to this contraband trade, if thereby we could secure effectually the friendship of Spain, and a due return of kindness in what regards the trade of Cadiz, and of the South Sea company. There is a certain proportion of our goods and manufactures necessary to the inhabitants of the Spanish America, and which they will have some way or other. Now it is certainly preferable in respect to us, that they should have them in a fair, than in a clandestine manner; yet we ought not to be more tied up in this respect than the Dutch, who have as flourishing a fair trade with Spain as we, and yet are much the greater smugglers of the two: which leads us to speak of their manner of carrying on this trade, which turns so largely to their profit.

The Hollanders, in 1632, dispossessed the Spaniards of three little islands off the coast of Venezuela, viz. Curaçao, Bonaire, and Aruba. All together they are of very little consequence in respect either to their extent or their product, and yet the Dutch draw from them an immense profit. Curaçao is not above seven leagues distant from the Spanish coast: a more convenient

convenient station cannot be wished for carrying on a clandestine trade. It was first introduced by the sale of negroes brought thither by the Dutch from their numerous settlements on the coast of Guinea. These the Spaniards formerly bought in a manner openly, and have transported in their own vessels fifteen hundred at a time; but since the English from Jamaica have interfered in this trade, it is sunk very considerably; though they still supply the neighbouring provinces.

The dealers at Curaçao, and their correspondents in Holland, were too knowing, too conversant in business, to let the declension of the slave-trade rob them of the benefit of this island. In order to replace what was lost by the English interfering with them, they built vast magazines, and stored them with all sorts of European goods, which had a very good effect. In the first place, it preserved to them the remainder of their slave-trade; for the Spaniards knowing that this of all others was most winked at by their governors, resolved to keep up a pretence of buying slaves, in order to have an opportunity of purchasing other things. Secondly, it tempted the Spaniards to run all hazards, that they might, at a reasonable price, obtain any sort of European merchandize they wanted, and that too whenever they pleased. It is incredible what vast sums have been annually traded for in this way. Beside, the inhabitants of Curaçao, to keep up a good correspondence with their neighbours, and, as far as possible, to fix their affections, refused to suffer any privateers to enter their ports, nor would upon any terms purchase their plunder; which at the same time was publickly sold in Jamaica, where the privateers usually spent their money. This spirit of self-denial, however, did not hinder the traders of Curaçao from directing the privateers to put into the island of St. Thomas, whither they instantly sent sloops with money, and agents on board them to purchase what the privateers had to sell, taking care to send the effects as soon as possible to Europe, that the

Spaniards

Spaniards might have no intelligence of this contrivance.

In process of time, however, some merchants devised another way of carrying on the same kind of commerce, by ships sent directly from Europe to the Spanish coasts. These vessels were of such force, that those on board them stood in no fear of any precautions the governors could take; and, on the other hand, as their cargoes passed immediately from their original owners to the Spaniards, they could be afforded considerably cheaper than such as were consigned to factors in America. The method of trading was by a signal from the ships, or from the shore. The long-boat was then sent off well manned, brought the merchants on board with their money, and carried them back with their goods. Those on board them chuse rather to sink than be taken; a very extraordinary kind of courage; for which, however, it is not impossible to account; and it may be useful, as well as pleasant, to enter into the particulars thereof.

At the time one of these ships is fitting out, notice is given to all sailors, that they may have an opportunity of entering, which they do with great alacrity, there being, generally speaking, twice as many who offer themselves as can be made use of. When the proprietors have their complement of picked seamen, they not only allow every man his proper cargo, to a certain value, but also furnish it themselves on credit at prime cost. By this means every private man on board becomes a proprietor; and, if the ship is attacked, fights for his own property: which is the reason that he will drown rather than part with it, and is one cause why guarda-costas are not over fond of meeting with these vessels, but choose rather to prey on fair traders, who have fewer men, and are of less force.

The little island of St. Thomas, which lies in the North seas, about fourteen leagues off Porto Rico, is the sole colony possessed by the Danes in the West Indies;

Indies ; nor would it be worth the keeping, but as it also serves to maintain an illicit trade with the Spanish islands in its neighbourhood. In order to maintain this correspondence, they transport from the Danish colonies in Africa a considerable number of slaves for the supply of Porto Rico, and of St. Domingo. Under colour of this trade, a commerce in European goods is carried on ; and we may easily discern how hard the Spaniards are put to it for the necessaries, or at least the conveniencies of life, when we find them trading to a place which is a free port to privateers and pirates of all nations ; who there vend openly, and in the very sight of the Spaniards, what is taken from them in the basest and most barbarous manner possible : and yet so tame are they, that they not only bear this with patience, but will even purchase commodities from these very buccaneers. Of late years other nations have made an advantage of this free port, and keep warehouses there of all sorts of commodities, for the service of such customers as will run the hazard of coming at them ; and in time of war the privateers never want a market in this place.

The Portuguese at Rio Janeiro maintain also a very beneficial correspondence with their Spanish neighbours. The goods with which they supply them, are sugars, indigo, tobacco, wines, brandies, and rums, with some European goods, and sometimes slaves. The inhabitants of this colony are far more industrious than the rest of the Brazil planters ; and this gives them an opportunity of gaining considerably by the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, and other places on the river Plata. Of late years the Spaniards are grown excessively jealous of this colony.

Beside these methods of trading, which we have hitherto spoken of, there is another common to all nations ; with the mention of which we shall conclude. Ships frequently approach the Spanish coasts under pretence of wanting water, wood, provisions,
or

or more commonly, in order to stop a leak. The first thing that is done in such a case, is to give notice to the governor of their great distress, and, as a full proof thereof, to send a very considerable present. By this means leave is obtained to come on shore, to erect a warehouse, and to unlade the ship: but then all this is performed under the eye of the king's officers, and the goods are regularly entered in a register as they are brought into the warehouse, which when full, is shut up, and the doors sealed. All these precautions taken, the business is effectually carried on in the night by a back-door; and the European goods being taken out, indigo, cochineal, vinellos, tobacco, and above all, bars of silver and pieces of eight are very exactly packed in the same cases, and placed as they stood before. But then, that such as have bought may be able to sell publickly, a new scheme takes place. A petition is presented to the governor, setting forth the strangers want of money to pay for provisions, building the warehouse, timber for repairing the ship, and a proportionable number of such like items; in consideration of all which, leave is desired to dispose of some small part of their cargo, in order to discharge these debts. This being obtained in the usual manner, something of each sort of goods which had been privately sold, is now publickly brought to market, and purchased by those persons respectively, who had larger quantities in their warehouses before. Thus the whole of this scene of iniquity is transacted with all the formal solemnity which could attend an act of justice and compassion.

SOME
P A R T I C U L A R S
RELATING TO

The Inhabitants of Patagonia.

THE late voyages to the South Seas having engaged the attention of the public, we have inserted the following particulars from a pamphlet said to be wrote by an officer on board the Dolphin. The principal object worthy of general notice in this voyage, as published, is a confirmation of the account formerly given by Magellan, of a gigantic people inhabiting the coast of Patagonia: but with regard to its authenticity, time must determine.

Passing over what the writer gives of the other parts of his voyage, which contain nothing new or entertaining, we shall observe, that according to his account, when they left Rio de Janeiro, and the coast of Brasil, on the 20th of October, 1764, bound, as they thought, for the Cape of Good Hope; a signal was made for the commander of the Tamer frigate to come on board, where he and the ship's company were informed, that the commodore's orders were to go on discoveries into the South Sea: a circumstance which, from the manner in which it was received, furnishes the greatest reason to believe, that no one on board had before the least notion of the voyage in which they were now engaged. But to prevent the appearance of discontent, they were at the same time acquainted with the intention of the government to allow them double pay, for their encouragement in the prosecution of the voyage.

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Nothing worthy of observation happened till the 27th of November, when after many hard gales of wind they made Cape Blanco, near the river Cæmarories, in the latitude of $46^{\circ} 50'$ south, and in the longitude of $72^{\circ} 7'$ west from London. After a few days sail they made Penguin island, about three or four leagues to the southward of the harbour of Port Desire, which lies in the latitude of $47^{\circ} 50'$ south. At this place they had very indifferent weather, attended with frequent showers of rain, and therefore sent their boats to sound the harbour, which returned the same evening. The next day they weighed in order to enter it; but found it very rocky at its entrance, and not above a quarter of a mile over from side to side. Here they met with such a sudden and violent storm, that both those in the boats and those on board had no reason to expect ever getting off, as both the wind and tide were against them; but that they should be obliged to live, or perhaps to perish on this desert coast of Patagonia, several hundred leagues to the southward of any European settlement: but at length, their twelve-oared barge providentially drove into the harbour, by which means the ship was preserved; for without this assistance she must have perished, they having no boat to carry out an anchor.

During their stay here, some of the men were employed in repairing the ship's rigging, while others went ashore in search of fresh water, though without success, as there was but little to be found.

The harbour itself is not much more than half a mile over. On the south shore is a remarkable rock in the form of a tower, which appears on entering the harbour's mouth. A-breast of this rock they lay at anchor, in seven or eight fathoms water, moored to the east and west, with both bowers, which was found extremely necessary, on account of the strong tide that regularly ebbs and flows every twelve hours. It is also necessary to observe, that the ground was
far

far from affording good anchorage; for as it principally consists of light sand, it is not to be depended upon; and if one anchor should start, while the tide is rushing in, the ship would immediately take the shore, before the other anchors could possibly bring her up. However, it may be fairly conjectured, that there is firmer anchorage farther up the harbour, especially for a ship that requires only a small draught of water.

He observes that the country all around is interspersed with high craggy rocks, but between each precipice the ground is covered with coarse grass. The vallies form a barren comfortless prospect, in which there was nothing to entertain the sight, but great numbers of wild beasts and birds, and many large heaps of bones that lie scattered about, especially by the side of every stream of water. But they saw not the least sign of the human species.

Though they found two or three springs on the shore near the harbour, their mineral qualities unfortunately prevented their being of any use in supplying the ship with water; and they could not even find a quantity sufficient for present use.

On the south shore the rocks are not so numerous as on the north side; and there are more hills and deep vallies, but they are covered only by high grass, and a few small shrubs. Hence this is but a bad place to touch at, by any ship that is under the necessity of wooding and watering. The commodore, in order to clear the ground of the overgrown grass, which grew in great quantities, and also to improve the soil, which appeared to be of a barren sandy nature, gave orders for the grass to be set on fire in different places; which was no sooner done, than the flames ran so fast, that in less than half an hour they spread several miles round. Before their departure they sunk two casks, one of them on the north shore from the place of anchorage, a-breast of the rock, which is in the form of a tower. The other cask was sunk on

south shore, two miles and a half to the south south-west of the Tower-rock, and near a gentle declivity, on which they erected a post twelve feet high from the ground, with a piece of board nailed across it by way of mark.

At length, having equipped the ship for sea, and received proper ballast from the shore, the signal was made for sailing. The crew were greatly refreshed by the provision they had met with here, they having the flesh of the guanacoes, or Peruvian sheep, served three times a week, which they found to be delicious food, and this doubtless contributed greatly to their continuing in a good state of health, as did all on board their consort the Tamer.

They left Port Desire on the 4th of December, and directed their course to the southward of Pepy's Island, laid down in our charts in the latitude of 48° south, and in the longitude of 64° degrees bearing east by south of Cape Blanco. But after many unsuccessful attempts to discover this island, in order to procure a fresh supply of wood and water, they had the mortification to find that all endeavours were ineffectual; they were therefore obliged to desist from the search, firmly persuaded of the impracticability of finding any such place.

On the 20th, at four in the afternoon, they saw the extremity of the land of Cape Fairweather, extending from south to west; at the distance of three leagues, when sounding, they found 25 fathoms water, with soft ground, and the latitude of the Cape to be in $51^{\circ} 30'$. Indeed they never steered above five or six miles from the shore; and in passing between the last mentioned cape and Cape Blanco, had no soundings with 25 fathoms of line. The coast here appears in white cliffs, with level bluff land, not unlike that about Dover and the south Forelands.

The next day they saw Cape Virgin Mary, from which they were five leagues distant, and also the land named Terra del Fuego. At three o'clock the

next

next morning they weighed, and making sail, at six the extrems of Terra del Fuego appeared, extending from the south-east by south, to the south-west by south, at four or five leagues distance. At eight they discovered a good deal of smoke issuing from different quarters, and, on a nearer approach, could plainly perceive a number of people on horseback. At ten they anchored in 14 fathoms on the north shore, and saw Cape Virgin Mary, which appeared over the low neck of land to the east north-east, and Point Possession to the west by south. Being about a mile from the land, they no sooner came to an anchor, than the people on shore hollowed to them, and moved their hands; on which they immediately hoisted out their boats, manned and armed.

On approaching the coast, evident signs of fear appeared among those in the boat, on seeing men of such enormous size; while some, perhaps to encourage the rest, observed, that those gigantic people were as much surpris'd at the sight of their muskets. This, however, serv'd to remind them, that fire-arms gave them an advantage much superior to that derived from stature and personal strength. When they had rowed within 20 yards of the shore, they lay on their oars, and observed that great numbers of them surrounded the beach, and by their countenances seem'd eagerly desirous of having them land. After the most amicable signs which these people were capable of understanding, or the boat's crews of giving, a signal was made to them to retire backward; and then the commodore and chief officers enter'd upon a short consultation on the propriety of landing. The first officer, fired with the thoughts of making a full discovery in regard to these Indians, who had been so much the subject of conversation among the English, made a motion to approach nearer and jump on shore; but the commodore object'd to it, and would not suffer any man to go before himself.

As soon as the Indians had retreated from the beach, which they had surrounded in such a manner, as to prevent any person's landing, the commodore, with great intrepidity, leaped on shore, followed by his officers and men, whom he drew up in a posture of defence. Immediately on landing the inhabitants came about them, to the number of two hundred or more, looking with evident marks of surprize, and smiling, as it should seem, at the great disproportion of their stature.

After many amicable signs, which appeared equally agreeable to both parties, the commodore, who had taken with him on shore a great number of trinkets, such as strings of beads, ribbons, and the like, distributed them with great freedom, as far as they went. The method he made use of to facilitate the distribution of them, was by making the Indians sit down on the ground, that he might put the strings of beads, &c. round their necks; and such was their extraordinary size, that in this situation they were almost as high as the commodore when standing.

They were so delighted with the different trinkets, which hung round their necks, and fell down before on their bosoms, that the commodore could scarcely restrain them from caressing him, particularly the women; whose large and masculine features corresponded with the enormous size of their bodies. Their middle stature seemed to be above eight feet; their extreame nine and upward. Their cloathing consisted of the skins of guanacoes, or Peruvian sheep, which reached from their shoulders down to their knees; and their hair was long and black, hanging down behind. The faces of the women were painted most extravagantly, and their stature equally surprising with that of the men. Their infants in the mother's arms, considering their age, bore the same proportion on their features. Some of their women had collars on their necks, and bracelets on their arms; but from whence they could procure them was a sub-

ject of wonder, as from their great amazement at first sight, it was conjectured, that they had never beheld any civilized beings before. It may, however, be concluded from the accounts of Sir John Narborough, and others, who have taken notice of these Indians, that they doubtless change their situation with the sun, spending the summer here, and in winter removing farther to the north, in order to enjoy the benefit of a milder climate. Hence Sir John and others have related, that they saw men of an uncommon size, at least eight or ten degrees more to the northward; whence it may reasonably be conjectured, that during one part of the year, they may have some intercourse with the Indians, who border on some of the Spanish settlements, and that from them they might have purchased these ornaments.

Their language appeared to be nothing more than a confused jargon, without any mixture of the Spanish or Portuguese, the only European tongues of which it was possible for them to obtain any knowledge; and with which it is probable it would have been mixed, had they any immediate intercourse with the Spaniards or Portuguese of South America. These people frequently looked toward the sun with an air of adoration, and made motions with their fingers to communicate their minds. They appeared to be of a friendly disposition, and seemed to live in great unanimity amongst themselves. After the commodore and his men had been with them a short time, they made signs for them to go to the smoke which they saw at a distance, and at the same time pointed to their mouths, as if they intended to give them some refreshment: but their number being at present greatly superior, and it being not improbable that still greater multitudes might come upon them unawares from the inland country, the commodore, who was equally remarkable for his prudence and his bravery, thought it not adviseable to venture any farther from the water-side.

By

By the observations made from the mast-head, at about three or four miles distance, and from the smoke they saw rising from different quarters, these Patagonians seemed to have no huts to secure them from the weather; but to be entirely exposed, without so much as a tree of a moderate growth to shelter them. Indeed the soil is in general sandy, and to all appearance barren; for they found neither water nor trees, but only a few shrubs. The writer remarks, that the greatest part of those who surrounded the shore were, before their landing, on horseback; but on seeing the boats make up to them, they dismounted, and left their horses at some distance. These horses seemed to be about sixteen hands high, and very swift; but bore no proportion to the size of their riders, and seemed to be but in a poor condition. These Patagonian Indians were so distressed and afflicted at their leaving them, that they heard their cries for a considerable time after. To this relation the writer adds some other concurring testimony to the following effect.

A gentleman, he says, who was an officer in one of the ships, and on shore at the same time with our author, affirms, that the Dolphin having entered 10 or 12 leagues into the mouth of the straits of Magellan, the men on deck observed thirty or forty people of an extraordinary stature, standing on the beach of the continent, who looking attentively at them, made friendly signs, by which they seemed to invite them to come on shore; while others, who stood aloft, discovered with their glasses a much greater number, about a mile farther up the country; but ascribed their apparent size to the foginess of the air. The ship happening at this instant to be becalmed, the honourable Mr. Byron, thinking no time would be lost by going ashore, resolved to land, in order to see these Indians, and learn what he could of their manners: he therefore ordered a six-oared boat for himself and officers, and one of twelve oars to be filled with

with men and arms, as a security, in case there should be any attempt to surprise or injure him, or any of those who went with him; though the people on shore did not seem to have any thing like an offensive weapon among them.

On the commodore's landing, in company with his lieutenant, he made signs to the Indians, who were crouding round him, to retire, which they very readily did, to the distance of 30 or 40 yards. He then, attended by his lieutenant, advanced toward them about 20 yards; and their number was soon encreased to upward of 500 men, women and children. Several civilities at this time passed on both sides, the Indians expressing their joy and satisfaction by singing uncouth songs, shaking hands, and sitting with looks of pleasure, with their wives and children round the commodore, who distributed among them ribbons and strings of beads, with which they appeared extreamly delighted. He tied necklaces round the necks of several of the women, who seemed to be from seven and a half to eight feet high; but the men were for the most part about nine feet in height, and some more. The commodore himself measures full six feet, and though he stood on tip-toe, he could but just reach the crown of one of the Indians heads, who was not, by far, the tallest among them. The men are well made, broad set, and of prodigious strength, of a copper-colour, with long black hair; and were cloathed with skins, which were fastened about their necks by a thong; the skins worn by the men being loose, but the women's girt close with a kind of belt. Many of the men and women rode on horses, which were about fifteen hands and a half high, all of them astride; and they had among them some dogs, which had sharp noses like foxes; and were nearly of the size of a middling pointer.

These friendly people invited the commodore, and all those who were landed, to go with them up the country, shewing a distant smoke, and pointing to
their

their mouths, as if they intended to give them a repast; and in return, the commodore invited the Indians to come on board, by pointing to his ship; but neither of them accepted of the others invitation: and therefore having passed two hours in an agreeable conversation, carried on wholly by signs, they parted with all the marks of friendship.

The country all around is sandy; but diversified with small hills, covered with a short coarse grass, and with shrubs, none of which, as Sir John Narborough has long before remarked, is large enough to make the helve of a hatchet.

Another gentleman on board has given an account that exactly tallies with the above, with these additional circumstances: That when they were 10 or 12 leagues within the streights, they saw through their glasses many people on shore of a prodigious size; which extraordinary magnitude they thought to be a deception, occasioned by the haziness of the air, it being then somewhat foggy; but on coming near the land they appeared of still greater bulk, and made amicable signs to our people to come on shore. That when the ship failed on to find a proper place of landing, they made lamentations, as if they were afraid our people were going off, and would not land. He also says, there were near 400 of them, and about one third of the men were on horses not much larger than ours; and that they rode with their knees up to the horse's withers, having no stirrups. That there were women, and many children, whom some of our people took in their arms and kissed, which the Indians beheld with much seeming satisfaction. That by way of affection and esteem, they took his hand between theirs, and patted it; and that some of those he saw were ten feet high, well proportioned and well featured; their skins of a copper-colour, and they had neither offensive nor defensive weapons. He also says, that they seemed particularly pleased with

with lieutenant Cummins, on account of his stature, he being six feet two inches high, and that some of them patted him on the shoulder, but their hands fell with such force, that it affected his whole frame.

In fine, another officer of the Squadron, who is affirmed to have communicated an account of these extraordinary people to the Royal Society, in a paper which that learned body is said to have reserved for publication, gives the same account, with these additional circumstances: that they all appeared to be very sagacious, easily understood the signals or intimations which our people made to them, and behaved with great complacency and good nature.

The End of the FIRST VOLUME.



5 FEB 66

ERRATA, in the INTRODUCTION.

In the Table of the Planets, p. 10, for *days* and
hours, in the diurnal rotations of Mars and Jupiter,
read *hours* and *minutes*.

P. 15, l. 10 from the bottom, for *rarifaction*, read
rarefaction.

